

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, October 7, 1994

Interview With Alan Colmes

September 30, 1994

Mr. Colmes. President Clinton, very nice to meet you. I've been an unabashed supporter of yours for a very long time, to the point where my listeners call me up and accuse me of being on your payroll. I'd like to dispel any such myth right now. [Laughs]

The President. You're not on the payroll, but I appreciate what you've said.

National Public Opinion

Mr. Colmes. Thomas Jefferson said of democracy that "democracy is cumbersome, slow, inefficient, but in due time, the voice of the people will be heard and their latent wisdom will prevail." How latent is that wisdom at this point in our evolution?

The President. Well, I think what's going on in our country today is that people desperately want circumstances to change for themselves in their own lives, and they see things going on around them they don't like: high rates of crime and violence and drug abuse and family breakdown, the continued economic uncertainty and insecurity, a lot of working people worried about their incomes, their ability to finance their kids' education, the stability of their health care, their retirement. And they are not sure that the Government ever works for ordinary people. And I think that that plus the atmosphere in which we operate up here, which is so contentious and so full of the conflicting messages spawned by all the interest groups, make it difficult for anybody to communicate through that. But what I have to do is to just keep working for the American people, keep fighting for change.

You know, we've made a remarkable start, I think. It's just the beginning, but we've made a good beginning in restoring the economy and fighting crime and making this Government work for ordinary people. That's

what I got sent here to do, and that's what I'm trying to do.

Midterm Elections

Mr. Colmes. Midterm elections are coming up, and just the other day the Republicans had a photo-op at the Capitol, and they gave a 10-point plan. I wonder if you feel the American people will buy this and change the balance of power legislatively this November?

The President. Well, the Republican contract, it's—I'm so glad they did it because they finally told the American people what I knew all along, which is what they're for. What they're for is to go back to trickle-down economics. They made over a trillion dollars worth of promises to the American people in this contract. And how they're going to pay for it is either to explode the deficit again, after we brought it down, or to cut Medicare or Social Security or never pay for the crime bill.

It's the same old thing they did in the 1980's, and it poses a stark choice for the Americans in this election: Do you want to keep going forward with an economic plan that has brought the deficit down for 3 years in a row for the first time since Truman, helped to produce over 4.3 million new jobs, has got America ranked the most productive country in the world for the first time in 9 years, that's provided college loan relief for millions of Americans and done a lot of other things that are growing this economy? Or do you want to go back to the same old trickle-down economics that exploded the debt, reduced investment in people, and nearly wrecked this economy? I mean, that's basically what the choice is in this election.

And their contract, basically, is a contract on America, puts out a contract on the deficit, puts out a contract on Medicare, puts out a contract on the crime bill. I mean, they're going to wreck it all if they got to

implement these ideas. It's just—it's unbelievable, but it's really where they are.

Mr. Colmes. How successful do you think they'll be in their attempt to take over Congress?

The President. Well, if we can get out there and tell the American people the truth about our record, the fact that we have made a good start, that we've got a long way to go and this is no time to turn back, I think we've got an excellent chance to defy the experts and the pundits.

In all but three elections in this century, the incumbent President's party has always lost seats in at least one House of Congress. And I think there's only been one election, in 1934, when the incumbent President actually picked up seats in both Houses. So this is a natural rhythm, but what's going on now is the country is going through a lot of changes, people are having a tough time. They do not know what this administration has done to make our good first start. I'm going to get that out there, and they need to know that it's just the beginning, because a lot of people haven't felt it yet.

Health Care Reform

Mr. Colmes. You've had an incredible string of accomplishments and perhaps the best first year legislatively of any President since Eisenhower. You've also cited Johnson's second year as a very successful year for him.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Colmes. But even your detractors, like Newt Gingrich, said you've had a great first year legislatively. Is it going to be more difficult in the second half of your first term, if there are more Republicans in Congress, for you to get things forth, like health care?

The President. Well, sure it is, unless they decide that they want to get something done for America instead of something done for their party.

Mr. Colmes. Is health care dead?

The President. No, not at all. Look, we didn't get it in the first year, and I think the main reason we didn't get it is that the Republicans decided they didn't want it to happen. I was willing to compromise; I reached out to them. But let me just give you the evidence.

When I introduced my plan, I said, "Look, folks, all I want to do is to help people control health care costs, protect the health insurance of people who have it so they don't lose it, and provide coverage for those who don't. Here's the best way to do it, I think. If you've got a better idea, let me know." When we started, there were 24 Republican Senators on a bill to provide health care for all Americans. They did it in a different way. When we got to the end of the legislative debate, that number 24 had dropped to zero.

Meanwhile, a Republican Congressman from Iowa said that the Republican leader in the House, Mr. Gingrich, had threatened them all that they must not cooperate. A Republican Senator was quoted in a major newspaper saying, "We killed health care; now we can't get our fingerprints on it." And the guy who gives them all their ideas, Mr. Kristol, said that the one thing you can't do is to pass health care reform while a Democrat is President; it'll ruin the party. So they put party ahead of the health care interests of the country.

But we can still get it. You know, things sometimes take longer around here. You just quoted Thomas Jefferson. I got the family leave bill on my desk to give people some time off from work without losing their job if a child is born or a parent is sick. It took 7 years for that. I had the opportunity to sign the Brady bill, which took 7 years to pass. The crime bill was around for 6 years. I signed a banking reform bill yesterday that's going to cut a billion dollars a year in regulatory costs, and it was around for 10 years.

So sometimes these bills take longer. I think we can get health care reform, but the Republicans are going to have to be willing to cooperate and put their country ahead of politics.

President's Approval Rating

Mr. Colmes. Given these lists of accomplishments, is it incredibly frustrating for you when you see approval ratings not being where you feel they should be?

The President. Well, I think—no, I think it's absolutely understandable, because people can only vote on what they know and what they feel. And you know, this country—I'll say again, these social problems that we

have in our country, the crime, the family breakdown, the violence, the drugs, they've been developing over 30 years. The economic problems have been developing over 20 years. And the other party was in power for 12 years. I've been here 20 months. So, we've made a good step, but a lot of people haven't felt it.

And because I have tried to change so much so fast, all the news the American people get is dominated by the conflicts, the process, the interest groups and all that kind of stuff, and the intense partisanship of the opposition. This election gives us an opportunity, gives me an opportunity to go out there and say, "Hey, here's our record; here's what we've done; here's a good first start. They want to go back to trickle-down economics. You decide." Then the American people are the boss; let them decide.

Republican Opposition

Mr. Colmes. Do you feel the intense opposition you talk about is stricter or more strident against you than it's been against other Presidents, and why?

The President. Well, I don't know the—a lot of the studies have said that this is the most highly partisan opposition that's ever been recorded. All I can tell you is what they've done. The Republican Senators voted 42 to 2 for the crime bill last year, when it wasn't an election year. And it came back this year, and they said all these prevention programs were pork. Well, they all voted for them last year, and they went from 42 to 2 for it, to 38 to 6 against it.

We've got an important piece of environmental legislation right now pending in the Senate—it's passed the House of Representatives—the Superfund bill for cleanup of toxic dumps. Everybody in America, believe it or not, from the Sierra Club to the chemical companies, is for this bill, from the most extreme environmental groups to the industry groups. The only people who are against it are the Republican Senators who don't want us to have one more legislative accomplishment before the election. That is the fact.

What I've got to do is just keep fighting for change, keep going forward. The American people are going to have to decide

whether they want to keep going on a path that is bringing the deficit down and the economy up, that's addressing crime, that has—unlike the Republicans who talked about this, we've actually reduced the size of the Federal Government, the Government's already 70,000 smaller than when I got here, and the law requires us now to take it down 270,000—or whether they're going to just go for that same old rhetoric where you promise everybody the moon and explode the deficit and run the economy into the ditch. Now that's the clear choice in this election, and it's the—I think the American people, once they have a chance to think about it, will have a different view.

Haiti

Mr. Colmes. I would guess the most difficult decision a President would ever have to make would be whether or not to send young people in this country into war. As you've struggled over this, vis-a-vis the Haiti situation, what kind of internal conflict have you gone through?

The President. Well, I think first of all, the President's first responsibility is to the security and safety of the American people. At the end of the cold war when our interests, our—excuse me, our security doesn't seem so imminently threatened by nuclear weapons, I still have to work hard on that. That's what I worked hard with President Yeltsin on; that's why we're so engaged in these very tough negotiations with the North Koreans.

But there are other things that affect our interests as well as our values. And one of the things that makes us secure today is that nearly everybody in our neighborhood, that is, in the Caribbean and Latin America, are democracies, and they're trading with us and working with us, and they're going to help us move into the next century. There are only two exceptions, and Haiti is the only country where a democratically elected President was overthrown by military dictators who proceeded to launch a reign of terror.

So, I'd thought about it for a long time, and I worked for over a year and a half to give those people every single solitary opportunity to leave power peacefully, to restore democracy, to stop a flood of refugees com-

ing for this country, and to give that country a chance. Meanwhile, we fed a million Haitians every day, we sent medicine down there, and we exhausted all diplomatic alternatives. So that's—when I decided to use military force there, it was because I thought there was no other alternative. Having made the decision, I decided that I would give the peace mission a chance to go down there and tell them, "The President has made this decision. Now you have a decision about which way you are going to leave and under what circumstances and whether you are going to try and keep the country peaceful and whole."

I'm glad that the peace mission worked out, although, as you know, we already had over 60 planes in the air at the time that they finally agreed to leave. It was a difficult decision, but I thought in light of the human rights violations and the interest that we have in protecting our own borders and the interest we have in stability and democracy and growth in our area, it was the right one. And I might say, I'm very, very proud of what our soldiers have done there. If you look, just this week, we've got the Parliament meeting, the mayor has returned from hiding, electricity has been doubled, we've got refugees going back from Guantanamo to Haiti, and we started the gun buy-back program. So I feel good about what they're doing. You ought to be proud of them.

Mr. Colmes. What will happen if Cédras refuses to relinquish power, or if the Parliament doesn't vote the amnesty which is part of the pact that was made? What happens then?

The President. Well, the pact said that we would do our best to reconstitute the Parliament and encourage them to vote an amnesty bill but that, in any case, they would have to leave on October 15th, they would have to give up power, whether or not they got the amnesty bill in fact passed.

We committed to support the amnesty bill last year when Mr. Cédras came here and made his agreement with the United States and with Haiti and with the United Nations. And when the time came—and President Aristide put out the amnesty proclamation and told the Parliament he expected them to vote for it, and he would sign it. And when

the time came, he wouldn't leave. So a lot has happened between now and then, and they've got to work through this.

But I think the Parliament will do the right thing. I think that they will work through—they're debating not only whether to give it but what the terms of it ought to be, what the reach of it is. All these things are for the Haitians to resolve. But regardless, they are going to have to leave power.

Mr. Colmes. Is there a contingency plan in case Cédras doesn't leave, once again?

The President. Well, the contingency plan is that they will leave power on the 15th, regardless. That's what the United States is doing there.

Mr. Colmes. But there's no chance that Cédras will refuse to leave power?

The President. Well, I believe he will honor his agreement, but if he doesn't, he'll have to leave anyway.

Mr. Colmes. A lot of people who otherwise are supportive of taking democracy and helping to install it in a place like Haiti have problems with the fact that the spearhead at the top of this is Aristide and that he does not represent the best hope for democracy—he's been called a Marxist, he's been accused of necklacing—and that even those who might support such a policy toward Haiti have a more difficult time because of who the person is who's President of Haiti.

The President. I think he would say that given the long history of violence and bloodshed and all the animosity that existed in Haiti at the time he became President, he may have said some things, or his supporters may have said some things that they would just as soon not have said. But the international human rights monitors who have been in Haiti say that during the months when he was President, the human rights record in Haiti was better than it was before he became President and much better than it's been since he left office.

Moreover, in the years he's been out of Haiti, he has made repeated, consistent commitments to avoid violence, avoid retribution, avoid human rights violations. Furthermore, keep in mind, this time when he goes back into power, he will have forces from 29 or 30 countries there monitoring the situation, preventing human rights violations. And if he

wants to succeed as President, which I believe he does, he needs the international aid package and the help in conducting parliamentary elections, all of which require an observance of human rights and not abusing the rights and interests and the lives of the minority.

So I think the American people and the people of the world can have a pretty high level of confidence that President Aristide will do what he says. So far, in all my dealings with him, he has kept every commitment he has made. And that's all you can ask of anybody. And he's made an ironclad commitment that he will not support violence.

The Presidency

Mr. Colmes. Mr. President, I know your time is limited, and I thank you very much for spending some time with us, but you know, I do have to in conclusion ask a really tough question. Is being President fun? Are you having a good time doing this?

The President. Yes, I am. Believe it or not, it's not all—when people's lives are at stake, it's not always fun. When you're fighting a tough battle where you think you're fighting for something good and you're willing to compromise with the other side and they're playing politics, that's not always fun.

But it is a real joy and a profound honor to just have the opportunity to come into this office every day and try to stick up for ordinary Americans and fight their fight and make their lives a little better. And whether they know it or not is not so important; it's not so important what they think of me on a daily basis. What is important is that I think of them on a daily basis, that I keep fighting for them. And I think the end will bring us out all right.

Mr. Colmes. How do you get them to know that, though, so they appreciate what they may not know about your day-to-day machinations?

The President. In part, that's what the elections are all about. That's what interviews like this are all about. I have to—I may have worked too hard on too many things for the last 2 years and spent too little time trying to directly communicate. I've worked hard at it, but I'm going to work even harder.

But the main thing is that I show up for work every day and fight other people's fights. And then when elections come, I go out and make a report to the people; they make their own judgment.

Mr. Colmes. Thank you very much, sir, for communicating here with us and our audience.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 2:40 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 6729—Child Health Day, 1994

September 30, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

It has been said that “(i)n every child who is born . . . the potentiality of the whole human race is born again.” Since James Agee wrote those words in 1941, generations of children have been born into our world, each individual holding as much promise and potential as the children of ages past. In recent decades, children have grown up to see the human race produce a vaccine for polio and pull back from the precipice of nuclear war. Indeed, in many ways, the world is a much safer place for all of us. It would seem that today's children would have a better chance than ever to fulfill the tremendous potential of humanity.

Yet as we celebrate Child Health Day this year, our young people face challenges to their well-being that their grandparents and great-grandparents could scarcely have imagined. In virtually every school and community, drugs and guns threaten our youths' safety, and gangs have become the closest thing to family that many young people will ever know. Girls too young to be mothers are struggling to meet the demands of parenthood, and many boys too young to be fathers are turning from the profound responsibilities they should shoulder. Among the primary health risks confronting our young

people, homicide and suicide have become the leading causes of death.

If our Nation is to succeed in the years to come, we must take new responsibility for the lives of our children, from promoting proper nutrition and basic health and safety to raising awareness of the terrible dangers of substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and AIDS. Already, we have made important progress in those efforts. We have enacted legislation that expands and improves the Head Start program, providing health, education, and social services for children of low-income families. My Childhood Immunization Initiative will help to vaccinate at least 90 percent of our Nation's infants—the most sweeping effort of its kind in American history. Our new crime bill supports programs that encourage youth to develop a sense of self-worth apart from gangs, and it goes a long way toward keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles. Already, we are saving children's lives.

But for all that we have accomplished in the past year, much remains to be done. We must forge active partnerships among health, child development, education, and social services organizations. We must involve parents and siblings, schools and communities in protecting our youth. Every child needs and deserves our concern and respect, and these begin with personal involvement. Children need love, tempered by discipline. They need the freedom to dream, tempered by the knowledge of hard work. They need someone who will lift them up when they fall, who will care for their bruises and scrapes, who will kiss their tears away when they falter and applaud them when they succeed. Only we can do these things. And it is only in reaching out to children that we may discover the true potential within ourselves.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved May 18, 1928, as amended (36 U.S.C. 143), has called for the designation of the first Monday in October as "Child Health Day" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, October 3, 1994, as Child Health Day. I call upon all

Americans to rededicate themselves to ensuring that every generation of children enjoys bright and healthy futures.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:42 p.m., October 3, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 5. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Memorandum on Assistance to Refugees From Rwanda and Burundi *September 30, 1994*

Presidential Determination No. 94-56

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Determination Pursuant to Section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as Amended

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I hereby determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$30,000,000 be made available from the U.S. Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund to meet the unexpected, urgent needs of refugees, returnees, and conflict victims from Rwanda and Burundi. These funds may be contributed to international and nongovernmental organizations, as appropriate.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the obligation of funds under this authority and to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Statement on Congressional
Completion of Appropriations
Legislation**

September 30, 1994

I want to thank the House and Senate leadership, Senator Byrd and Congressman Obey, the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees, and their colleagues for their leadership and assistance. And I would be remiss if I didn't say how sorry I am that Congressman Natcher could not be with us to enjoy this achievement.

We are making a start at putting our country's fiscal house in order. After years of partisan bickering, after years of rising deficits, it was time for Washington to get Federal spending under control. Our economic plan adopted by Congress last year gave us this start.

Our 5 year deficit reduction plan put into place rigid controls on Government spending. It has produced 2 years of declining deficit for the first time in 20 years. We are reducing Federal employment by 272,000 positions, placing us on a path to the smallest Federal Government since John Kennedy was President. We are making a start on running Washington the way Americans run their households at home, within budget limits, paying the bills on time.

For the first time since 1948, the Congress has adopted all 13 Appropriations for signing by the President before the end of the fiscal year, all 13 bills, on time, within the rigid spending restraints required by our economic plan.

The economic recovery gathering strength across our country is being built on this kind of progress. We have embarked on a journey to rebuild and renew the American economy. We haven't finished the job, but we are going to keep moving forward, keep cutting spending, and we're not going back.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Statement on Signing the Treasury,
Postal Service and General
Government Appropriations Act,
1995**

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4539, the "Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act, 1995."

The Act provides a total of \$11.6 billion in discretionary budget authority for various programs in the Department of the Treasury, the U.S. Postal Service, the General Services Administration, the Office of Personnel Management, the Executive Office of the President, and several smaller agencies.

I am pleased that the Act appropriates \$39 million from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund to several Treasury agencies to fight crime and promote gang resistance programs.

The Act also provides important funding for the United States Customs Service to support the commitments made to enhance the enforcement of trade laws and regulations related to NAFTA. This initiative remains an Administration priority.

This Act funds the IRS tax compliance initiative, which is essential in ensuring that everyone pays his or her fair share of their Federal taxes. This initiative is expected to have deficit-reducing potential by strengthening audit and debt collection activities, thereby generating additional revenue without raising taxes.

Several other provisions in H.R. 4539 condition the President's authority—and the authority of certain agency officials—to use funds appropriated by this Act on the approval of congressional committees. The Administration will interpret such provisions to require notification only, since any other interpretation of such provisos would contradict the Supreme Court ruling in *INS vs. Chadha*.

Regrettably, the Congress has continued its past practice of including personnel floors and other restrictions in several of the Treasury agencies funded by the enrolled bill.

Such measures run counter to our efforts to reduce the number of Federal employees, as recommended by the National Performance Review and mandated in the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1994. These restrictions would exclude over 20,000 Treasury employees from reduction, thereby imposing a greater burden on other agencies. While we have made a start on deficit reduction, we cannot fully achieve our goals without making reductions in the Federal workforce, fairly apportioned among *all* departments and agencies.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4539, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-329. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

**Statement on Signing the
Agricultural, Rural Development,
Food and Drug Administration, and
Related Agencies Appropriations
Act, 1995**

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4554, the "Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995."

The Act provides \$13.4 billion in discretionary budget authority for programs of the Department of Agriculture, including the special supplemental feeding program for women, infants, and children (WIC); food safety programs; and various programs to protect and support rural communities.

The Act also provides a total of \$39.2 billion for the Food Stamp program, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and other mandatory programs.

The Act includes authority for providing disaster assistance for losses to 1994 crops due to natural disasters. The Administration is currently reviewing estimates of the need for this assistance. I will be transmitting to the Congress requests for the release of these emergency funds in the near future.

The Act also includes the following appropriations that I hereby designate as emergency requirements pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended:

Emergency community water assistance grants, \$10,000,000;

Very low-income housing repair grants, \$15,000,000;

Agricultural credit insurance fund program account: For the cost of emergency loans, \$7,670,000; and

Emergency conservation program: Transfer from Watershed and flood prevention operations, \$23,000,000

These funds will be used to provide needed assistance to victims of natural disasters, including flooding victims of Tropical Storm Alberto in south Alabama, south Georgia, and north Florida.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4554, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-330. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

**Statement on Signing the
Department of Transportation and
Related Agencies Appropriations
Act, 1995**

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4556, the "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995."

The Act provides funding for the Department of Transportation and several smaller agencies, including the Interstate Commerce Commission and the National Transportation Safety Board.

This Act provides funding for a number of my high-priority investment proposals within the Department of Transportation. These include the core highway programs of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, the Intelligent Vehicle Highway System research program, Mass Transit Formula Capital Grants, Next Generation High-

Speed Rail, and the Penn Station Redevelopment Project.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4556, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-331. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

**Statement on Signing the
Department of the Interior and
Related Agencies Appropriations
Act, 1995**

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4602, the "Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995."

H.R. 4602 provides funds for various programs of the Departments of the Interior and Energy, the Forest Service (Department of Agriculture), and the Indian Health Service (Department of Health and Human Services). Funding for various independent agencies such as the Smithsonian Institution and the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities is also included.

The Act provides important funding to further the protection and rehabilitation of America's inventory of natural and cultural assets, including our national parks and forests.

I am pleased that the Act includes funding to support a number of my energy conservation initiatives. These investments are important for our Nation's energy and environmental future.

The Act also provides \$200 million in additional emergency funding for Forest Service firefighting activities and \$250 million in additional contingent emergency firefighting funds, reflecting the severe 1994 fire season affecting national forests in many western States.

There are several provisions in the Act that purport to require congressional approval before executive branch execution of aspects of the bill. The Administration will interpret such provisos to require notification only, since any other interpretation would con-

tradict the Supreme Court ruling in *INS vs. Chadha*.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4602, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-332. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

**Statement on Signing the
Departments of Labor, Health and
Human Services, and Education, and
Related Agencies Appropriations
Act, 1995**

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4606, the "Department of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995."

This Act provides funding for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education; the Corporation for National and Community Service; the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; and several smaller agencies. Programs within these agencies address the training and employment needs of our Nation's work force, the Federal role in our education system, and fundamental elements of our health care network.

This Act provides funding for a number of my high-priority investment proposals within the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and the Corporation for National and Community Service. These include the Head Start program, Goals 2000 program, School-to-Work Opportunities program, dislocated workers assistance, education for the disadvantaged, AIDS treatment programs authorized under the Ryan White CARE Act, and the National Institutes of Health.

I am pleased that the Act provides my full request for childhood immunizations. This program will ensure that all children who do not have health insurance coverage for immunizations have access to immunizations at the appropriate age.

The Act provides funding for investment initiatives for automation and disability proc-

essing within the Social Security Administration (SSA). This will help SSA improve the quality of service to millions of Americans.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4606, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-333. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1995
September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4649, the "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1995." This Act provides \$712 million in Federal appropriations for the District of Columbia.

The Act requires the District of Columbia to reduce total FY 1995 spending from District funds by \$140 million. The Act includes enforcement mechanisms that require a reduction in the FY 1996 Federal payment if the District fails to balance its FY 1995 budget. The Act also includes a provision that requires the District to reduce its total employment level by 2,000 full-time equivalent positions in FY 1995.

Consistent with the Administration's request, the Act directs the Army Corps of Engineers to conduct a study that addresses the longer-term capital improvements and operation and maintenance requirements of the Washington Aqueduct facility. The study will consider alternative methods of financing such operation and maintenance and capital improvements, as well as alternative arrangements for ownership of the Washington Aqueduct facility. The study will be conducted in consultation with the Environmental Protection Agency, the Office of Management and Budget, and the nonfederal public water customers of the Washington Aqueduct.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4649, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-334. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Statement on Signing the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1995

September 30, 1994

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4650, the "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1995." H.R. 4650 supports the Administration's major defense priorities and reflects a spirit of cooperation between the Administration and the Congress to provide for a strong national defense. My number one defense priority remains the training and readiness of our military forces. I am very pleased that the Congress has resolved difficult budget issues in such a manner that supports this priority. I also appreciate the support the Congress has given to key defense investment and modernization proposals.

The Act provides \$299 million in urgently needed supplemental FY 1994 funding for emergency relief for Rwanda and for emergency migrant processing and safe haven costs in and around Cuba. I designate the \$299 million provided as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1995, as amended. I am concerned, however, with the inflexibility of the provisions concerning the U.S. mission and military participation in Rwanda. I will interpret this legislation consistent with my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and my responsibility as Commander in Chief and as Chief Executive.

I am also concerned about section 8118 of this Act, which limits the Administration's flexibility to make reductions in certain personnel categories. This provision runs counter to the recommendations of the National Performance Review and this Administration's efforts to streamline Federal activities. It will hamper DOD's ability to manage its civilian personnel efforts efficiently.

I would point out that section 8136, which relates to changes in obligations under the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty), cannot restrict the constitutional options for congressional approval of

substantive modifications of treaties, and I sign this bill with that understanding.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
September 30, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 4650, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 103-335. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

The President's Radio Address *October 1, 1994*

Good morning. As we come to the end of this congressional session in 1994, it's clearer than ever that Americans still want to change the way Washington works, and they should.

We've worked hard here for 20 months to make sure Government responds to ordinary citizens, not to organized pressure groups; responds to the national interests, not narrow interests. And we've made some good progress, but there's still a lot more work to do.

Since I became President, we fought to change the culture of our Capital City. We first imposed the toughest ethics rules ever on our own officials. Then we moved to close the tax loopholes that lets lobbyists deduct the cost of their activities. And then our initiative to reinvent Government, led by the Vice President, is already making progress in making Government work better and cost less. We're cutting the size of the Federal Government by 270,000, to its lowest level since John Kennedy was President. Already in our 20 months, there are 70,000 fewer people on the Federal payroll. And we're giving every dime of the money we save in reducing the Federal payroll back to local communities to fight crime. We've also slashed regulations and bureaucracy, speeded up the time Small Business Administration loans get answered. We've changed the way Government buys products to make it cheaper and more efficient. We've given 17 States permission to change the rules so they can move more folks from welfare to work.

Despite all these steps forward, our political system is still too often an obstacle to

change, not an instrument of progress. One big reason is that here in Washington there are some 80,000 paid lobbyists who work to influence the Government. In the last year, we've certainly seen how well-organized, lavishly funded campaigns by people protecting their narrow interests work.

The gun lobby nearly derailed the crime bill strongly supported by police and prosecutors, just because it banned 19 assault weapons from our streets, weapons designed only to kill people, and in spite of the fact that the crime bill protected 650 hunting and sporting weapons from any Federal restrictions.

The foes of health care reform have spent \$300 million, by most estimates, to oppose change. By all accounts, this was the most intense lobbying campaign in history. But rest assured, we're not giving up on our fight for health care reform, for universal coverage, cost controls, and protecting small businesses and the people who have health insurance now from losing it.

This week we're working to pass a major reform bill that Congress still has time to act on, a bill that will go a long way toward taking Government out of the hands of the influence industry. The legislation, for the first time ever, would require lobbyists to fully disclose who they work for, how much they're paid, and what they're seeking to get out of Government. That's not all it does. It also prevents lobbyists from buying Members of Congress meals, gifts, or vacations. All in all, it's very tough, and it will change the way Washington does business.

Not surprisingly, a lot of Washington's lobbyists don't like this bill very much. It takes away their special access and puts ordinary people on a more equal footing. And now at the last minute, some are trying to defeat lobby reform with bogus arguments.

Last Thursday, the House of Representatives stood up to intense pressure and passed lobby reform by a large margin. This week, it's the Senate's turn. The lobbyists and their allies will throw up a lot of rhetoric about how this bill hurts ordinary people. Don't you believe it. It's bad news for people who use paid professional lobbyists to influence legislation and don't want you to know what

they're doing. That's all it does, and that's why the Senate should pass it immediately.

I've fought for reforms like this my entire public career. When I was Governor of Arkansas, after years of trying to pass lobby reform through the legislature, I went to the people of my State, and we passed a tough bill by a popular vote. I advocated this measure when I ran for President, and I've worked for it ever since. I am confident it will become law.

There's another bill Congress should pass before it goes home. This would apply the laws Congress passes to govern the rest of America to Congress itself. That's just common sense, and it's only fair. But believe it or not, it doesn't always hold up today. The people who make laws for the private sector should be willing to live under the laws they make. That's what this law would require.

Even these important changes, however, won't complete the task of political reform. The way we fund campaigns gives too much power to special interests and too often drowns out the voice of the people. We had a good chance to change that. But yesterday, once more, a Senate filibuster defeated campaign finance reform. I was very disappointed by this result. The campaign finance reform bill was a strong bill. It gave real reform. It would have limited spending in congressional races, curbed the political action committees, opened the airwaves to honest debate, and closed the so-called soft money loophole in our Presidential election system.

The fight for campaign reform isn't over, either. We'll return to it next year with redoubled determination to get this job done. The American people demand it.

Since I became President, we've made real progress in turning our country around, in getting our economic house in order, fighting crime, making Government work for ordinary people. Our comprehensive economic strategy cut our deficit drastically and for 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President. We've expanded trade with Mexico, negotiated a worldwide trade agreement, improved the education and training of our work force. We've got 4.3 million new jobs in just 20 months, and our country's rated the most productive in

the world for the first time in 9 years. We've also enacted a tough crime bill. And we've begun with reinventing Government, the effort to make Government work for ordinary people.

But to finish this work, we need to keep changing the way Government does the people's business. Let's keep forward in the fight for political reform. We need your help on that.

Thanks very much.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 3:36 p.m. on September 30 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 1.

Radio Address to American Troops in Haiti

October 1, 1994

I wanted to take this opportunity to say a few words to those of you who are part of Operation Uphold Democracy. For the last 2 weeks, your efforts to bring peace and stability to Haiti have moved all of us here at home. I want you to know just how proud and grateful I and all other Americans are for what you're doing.

Your Nation has asked you to take responsibility for a difficult but important mission. The work you're doing is helping the Haitian people win their fight for freedom and democracy. It's making possible the return of an honestly elected government. It's proving to the world that the United States will stand up for democracy in our hemisphere, will honor its own commitments, and expects those who make commitments to us to honor them.

You have responded brilliantly to the call of duty. In less than 2 weeks, your presence and your professionalism have helped curb the violence in Haiti, given hundreds of refugees the confidence to return home, permitted the Haitian Parliament to resume its work, and restored the mayor of Port-au-Prince to his office. These are the kinds of steps that will help the multinational force you are leading do its job and do it right.

As you carry out your demanding mission, you should know that your safety remains our number one concern. General Shalikashvili, Lieutenant General Shelton, and your other

commanders have assured me that they are taking every possible precaution to ensure your welfare as you carry out your mission.

You're the finest fighting force in the world, the best trained, the best equipped, the best prepared. I share the pride of every American in your efforts on behalf of peace and democracy. You're performing a difficult mission with extraordinary skill. You have our thanks, our praise, our admiration, and our prayers.

On behalf of the American people, I wish each and every one of you Godspeed in the service of our Nation.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 3:43 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House on September 30 for broadcast on October 1. In his remarks, the President referred to Lt. Gen. Henry H. Shelton, commander, U.S. forces in Haiti.

**Remarks Welcoming Crown Prince
Hassan of Jordan and Foreign
Minister Shimon Peres of Israel
October 3, 1994**

Good morning. I'm happy to welcome back to the White House both Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres. We've had a productive session today. Jordan and Israel have taken further and very specific steps on the road to building a warm peace between their two nations.

Almost exactly a year ago, Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres and I met to launch this trilateral process. What a difference a year makes. Since then, intensive bilateral and trilateral negotiations culminated just 2 months ago in the historic meeting I hosted here between King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin when they signed the Washington Declaration and put an end to war between their two nations.

Since then, peace treaty negotiations have made considerable progress, and steps to implement the warm peace all three of our nations want have already been taken. Jordan and Israel have already opened a border crossing for citizens of other nations at Aqaba and Eilat. And trilateral discussions on tourism, communications, and economic development are proceeding.

These discussions take place at a time when the economic and trade barriers of the past are dissolving before our eyes. It's heartening that the Gulf Cooperation Council states, led by Saudi Arabia, have now declared that they will no longer enforce the secondary and tertiary aspects of the economic boycott and will support a move in the Arab League to end the primary boycott of Israel. Promoting trade, development, and cooperation, rather than restraining and hindering normal economic relations, should be the hallmark of the new Middle East, and Jordan and Israel are leading the way.

Today the Crown Prince and the Foreign Minister have reached agreement on a variety of issues that will help develop the Jordan Rift Valley, increase tourism, and assure future economic and social progress in the region. They have agreed to adopt basic principles to guide the future development of the Jordan Rift Valley, including projects dealing with the environment, water, energy, and tourism; to open a new northern border crossing for third-country nationals by October 15th; to establish a Red Sea marine peace park with assistance from the United States Government; to convene a conference on exploring constructing a canal between the Red Sea and the Dead Sea; to explore the establishment of a free trade zone in the Aqaba-Eilat area with a view to making it an economic hub for the northern peninsula of the Red Sea; to conduct, together with the United States, feasibility studies to expand the availability of water and to undertake joint financings of dams on the Yarmuk and Jordan Rivers to alleviate water shortages.

That's quite a lot of work for them in this session. They are solid evidence that Jordan and Israel have not only ended their state of war but are following through on their commitment to cooperate with each other and negotiate as rapidly as possible a final peace treaty. Our goal remains a comprehensive peace between Israel and all its Arab neighbors. We're hopeful that a breakthrough can be achieved in the negotiations underway between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon.

In their ongoing talks, Israel and Jordan have looked to the trilateral discussions to help establish a comprehensive, lasting, and

warm peace. The steps we announce today are the building blocks of a modern peace between these ancient lands. The United States is proud to be a partner and facilitator in this extraordinary endeavor.

Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres, on behalf of the American people and personally, let me say that I salute your vision, your courage, and your persistence. This has been a relationship that has meant a great deal not only to me but to all of us in this country because of the incredible openness that you have displayed and the creativity you have brought to these negotiations. I am grateful that the United States has been able to play a role in this process, grateful for the opportunity that we have had to try to facilitate an extraordinary coming together between two extraordinary nations and very extraordinary leaders.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:52 a.m. in the West Lobby at the White House.

Remarks to Business Leaders on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

October 3, 1994

Thank you very much. Senator Mitchell, I was thinking even before you spoke how much I would miss you. Now, after that introduction, I feel it even more keenly. Ambassador Hills, thank you for your steadfast support and your leadership on GATT. Ambassador Kantor, thank you for what you have done on this, and congratulations on the agreement with Japan, too, by the way. You did a fine job, and we're proud of you. To all the distinguished Members of Congress who are here and those who would like to be here who cannot be, and all the members of the business community and others supporting the GATT today, I thank you for coming here. To the distinguished leaders of previous administrations who are here, including Larry Eagleburger, Brent Scowcroft, Herb Stein, and others, I thank you for being here.

Much that needs to be said about the GATT has already been said. Mickey Kantor reminded me this morning of something I confess I had not thought of on this day. It

was 3 years ago today that I announced my candidacy for this job. And he did it because there is a line here on the first page of the talk which said, "I refuse to be part of a generation that fails to compete in the global economy and so condemns hard-working Americans to a life of struggle without reward or security."

The great challenge of our age economically is to figure out how we can create jobs and increase incomes for people who work hard, without having too much inflation. It is obvious to me that in order to do that we have to do three things: We have to bring the deficit down; at the same time, increase investment in education, training, and technology; and expand trade and investment. If we can do those things and if our neighbors do those things—in short, if we do them together, then we will be able to create more jobs and find productive lives for our people without unacceptable inflation. We will also be able to end what is now nearly two decades of people working harder and longer without ever getting much of a pay raise.

I'm encouraged that in just this year we see incomes rising at about 6 percent in the United States with nowhere near that sort of inflation. Why? Because of productivity, investment, and trade. That is what we have to do. In the end, that needs to be our bipartisan commitment to our children and to our grandchildren and to our future. Our commitment to make America great in the 21st century involves a commitment to make America a good leader but a good partner as well.

We have cut the deficit with \$255 billion in spending cuts and revenue increases, and 3 years now in a row the deficit will go down for the first time since Mr. Truman was here.

We have shrunk the Federal bureaucracy. It's already more than 70,000 people smaller than it was when I came. But the Congress has adopted a bill to reduce it by 270,000 over 6 years. That will make the Federal Government the smallest it was since President Kennedy served here.

We have increased our investment in education and training, and we are opening the doors of trade, removing barriers to the sales of \$35 billion in high-tech export items and

of course working hard with trade initiatives like NAFTA and GATT.

Carla already alluded to this, but I think it's worth pointing out to those who said that NAFTA would be a disaster that our trade with Mexico is growing at 3 times the rate of our overall trade in the world, that exports of automobiles and trucks to Mexico have increased by 600 percent. At a lot of those auto factories, people are working overtime for the first time in a very long while.

So I feel very good about the direction in which we are going. In the last year and a half, 93 percent of all the new jobs in this country have come in the private sector. That means that the strategy will work, but we have to keep it going.

A lot of tribute has been paid to the people in the three previous administrations who have worked hard on this. I just want to add my words to those who have spoken before and to say a special word of thanks not only to Ambassador Kantor but to all those in the administration who worked so closely with him, to Secretary Espy, who is here and whose agriculture reform bill just passed the Congress, to Secretary Bentsen, to Secretary Brown, and to Laura Tyson, the Chair of our Council of Economic Advisers, and others.

We know, we know this is in our national interest. You might wonder, since we all know it, what are we doing here today? We all know this. I'll tell you what we're doing here today. We're trying to do this with the least possible delay. We're trying to do this in the shortest possible time.

We know that when the GATT is finally implemented, it will add \$1 billion to \$2 billion to our economy every year. We know the GATT plays to our strengths for the reasons Ambassador Hills has already mentioned. We know that our pharmaceutical and computer software firms can harness America's brainpower and now put it to work all over the world. We know our tractors can plow the soil of every nation. We know that from cars to computers, from furniture to frozen foods, we can still make the things the world wants to buy, and when GATT is fully implemented, we'll be selling those things everywhere in the world.

The GATT passed the House Ways and Means Committee by 35 to 3, the Senate Fi-

nance Committee by 19 to 0; has a phenomenal amount of support from business, consumer, labor groups, over 400 economists. But the point I want to make is, we need to do it now. Secretary Bentsen has estimated that even a 6-month delay will cost our economy up to \$70 billion in extra economic growth over the decade, a 6-month delay.

So we are here today to say: The work has been done. The path to the future is clear. Our obligations are plain. We thank all of you for your support, and let's do it now and do it this year.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. at the West Wing Portico of the White House.

Statement on the Resignation of Mike Espy as Secretary of Agriculture

October 3, 1994

I have accepted with regret Secretary Mike Espy's offer to resign effective December 31, 1994. This decision will permit me to name a successor efficiently. It will facilitate the work of the Department, and it will enable Secretary Espy to leave his post with an outstanding record of accomplishment that will outlast the uncertainty that exists today.

Secretary Espy has been a relentless champion for American farmers and consumers. Because of his leadership, legislation enabling USDA to reinvent its management and modernize the services it provides farmers and farm communities is nearing completion in Congress. When lives and livelihoods were threatened by natural disasters in rural communities, Mike Espy was our steward for relief efforts. As Agriculture Secretary, he was an advocate for ensuring that people who were hungry in an abundant America were fed by the food we grow here. He fought for agriculture exports, the environment, and for a Department that was service-friendly to farmers and taxpayers. In these duties and others, he served well.

Over the last few weeks, however, the Office of the White House Counsel has reviewed information about Secretary Espy

and the actions he took while in office. Although Secretary Espy has said he has done nothing wrong, I am troubled by the appearance of some of these incidents and believe his decision to leave is appropriate. During the remainder of his tenure, Secretary Espy will recuse himself from meat and poultry inspection issues. And I have asked Judge Abner Mikva, the White House Counsel, to continue his review of the Espy case until that review is complete.

Message to the Congress on Panama *October 3, 1994*

To the Congress of the United States:

1. I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report on November 9, 1993, which have resulted in the termination of the continued blocking of Panamanian government assets. This is the final report with respect to Panama pursuant to section 207(d) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

2. On April 5, 1990, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12710, terminating the national emergency declared on April 8, 1988, with respect to Panama. While this order terminated the sanctions imposed pursuant to that declaration, the blocking of Panamanian government assets in the United States was continued in order to permit completion of the orderly unblocking and transfer of funds that the President directed on December 20, 1989, and to foster the resolution of claims of U.S. creditors involving Panama, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(a). The termination of the national emergency did not affect the continuation of compliance audits and enforcement actions with respect to activities taking place during the sanctions period, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1622(a).

3. The Panamanian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 565 (the "Regulations"), were amended effective May 9, 1994, to foster the resolution of U.S. persons' claims against the Government of Panama arising prior to the April 5, 1990, termination date. (59 *Federal Register* 24643, May 12, 1994.) A copy of the amendment is attached. The amendment, new section 565.512, includes a statement of licensing policy indicating that

the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC") would issue specific licenses authorizing the release of blocked Government of Panama funds at the request of that government to satisfy settlements, final judgments, and arbitral awards with respect to claims of U.S. persons arising prior to April 5, 1990. In addition, FAC stated that it would accept license applications from U.S. persons seeking judicial orders of attachment against blocked Government of Panama assets in satisfaction of final judgments entered against the Government of Panama, provided such applications are submitted no later than June 15, 1994.

4. No applications were received pursuant to this amendment for the purpose of obtaining judicial orders of attachment against blocked Government of Panama assets. Since the last report, however, specific licenses were issued at the request of the Government of Panama to unblock about \$4.4 million to satisfy settlements reached with the vast majority of U.S. creditors by the Government of Panama. On September 9, 1994, the FAC gave notice to the public that the remaining blocked Government of Panama assets, approximately \$2.1 million, would be unblocked effective September 16, 1994. (50 *Federal Register* 46720, September 9, 1994.) A copy of the notice is attached. Half of the \$2.1 million had been held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York at the request of the Government of Panama. The remaining amounts were held in blocked commercial bank accounts or in blocked reserved accounts established under section 565.509 of the Panamanian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR 565.509. The remaining known claimants were informed that, prior to the unblocking, the Government of Panama and Air Panama had directed the transfer of \$400,000 into a trust account administered by counsel to the Republic of Panama and Air Panama, as escrow agent, to be utilized toward resolution of the few remaining U.S. claims. This sum exceeds the face amount of the total of the known remaining claims.

5. With the unblocking on September 16, 1994, of Government of Panama funds that had been subject to the continued blocking, the sanctions program initiated to deal with the threat once posed by the Noriega regime

in Panama is completed. However, enforcement action for past violations may still be pursued within the applicable statute of limitations.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government during the period of the national emergency with respect to Panama from April 8, 1988, through April 5, 1990, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Panama are estimated to total about \$2.225 million, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel), and the Department of State (particularly the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs and the Office of the Legal Adviser).

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 3, 1994.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting Reports of the
Department of Transportation**

October 3, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the 1993 calendar year reports as prepared by the Department of Transportation on activities under the Highway Safety Act and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, as amended (23 U.S.C. 401 note and 15 U.S.C. 1408).

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 3, 1994.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting the Report of the
Federal Labor Relations Authority**

October 3, 1994

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 701 of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (Public Law 95–

454; 5 U.S.C. 7104(e)), I have the pleasure of transmitting to you the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for Fiscal Year 1993.

The report includes information on the cases heard and decisions rendered by the Federal Labor Relations Authority, the General Counsel of the Authority, and the Federal Service Impasses Panel.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 3, 1994.

**Remarks at a Reception for
California Gubernatorial Candidate
Kathleen Brown**

October 3, 1994

The President. Thank you very much. Why don't we just vote right now? [Laughter] You do that for 30 more days, and you're in like Flint. That was terrific. Thank you, Kathleen. And thank you, Governor Bayh, for your leadership.

You know, I really resent Evan Bayh. He's young and handsome, manages to avoid controversy and stay popular. And he's done a lot better as head of the Democratic Governors than I did when I was there. [Laughter]

Governor Bayh. Well, that's because I have a great President helping out.

The President. Not only that, but he's a wonderful tribute to our party, and he has a terrific future.

I came here tonight to speak for Kathleen Brown. I want to thank the members of our administration who are here, the members of the Cabinet. Their presence here should tell you how important we think this race is.

I was listening to Kathleen speak a moment ago. I want to just tell you a few things from the heart about this. First of all, I declared for President 3 years ago today. At the time I was Governor; I had just been reelected to a fifth term, two 4-year terms, three 2-year terms. I was happy as a clam at home. I got into the race basically because I didn't want to see our victory in the cold war be squandered in the aftermath, because I didn't want to see America move to the 21st century not able to compete and win,

and because I didn't like the fact that our country was coming apart when it ought to be coming together.

And when I began that race, most people thought I needed my head examined because the incumbent President was over 70 percent approval in the polls. My mother thought I could win; that's about it. *[Laughter]* That's about it.

I say it to make two points. One, in the moment the polls are not as important as the public official, the candidate, and the conviction. And secondly, the choice that Kathleen Brown just posed to you is a choice we're going to have to be making over and over and over and over again until we get out of what we got ourselves into over a very long period of time.

And all along the way, at various times, the choice will be more difficult for people. But when I look at what her opponent's tried to do to her out in California, how he's tried to sort of define her, it's classic Republican politics. And they're very good at it. Let's not kid ourselves. They are very good at demonizing their opponents, at turning their opponents into aliens, and making people at the local Kiwanis Club think that they wouldn't share a piece of apple pie with their opponents. That's what they're good at. That's how they stay in.

They always think that given the contentious and divisive nature of the way people communicate and the way they are communicated to today, they can exalt blame over responsibility; they can exalt division over unity; they can exalt fear over hope. That's what they believe. Once in a while we prove them wrong when we can communicate with discipline and conviction and persistence and when we are not ground down.

I'd have come over here tonight just to hear her give that speech, because now she's got me in a better humor, too. *[Laughter and applause]* I'm telling you.

So you heard it, and it's the same thing everywhere. I ran for President because we were in the midst of 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economic problems, and 12 years of the kind of stuff she's going through now, where the leadership of this country would always tell the American people what they thought they wanted to hear.

They would talk tough and get the image that they are tough—Presidential, national message—and they would act weak. They would talk like our parent and then act like our child, telling us exactly what we wanted to hear as if it were tough medicine and then writing us a check and never worrying about who was going to pay the bill. Now, that is what has happened for 12 years. And always escaping responsibility by placing blame. Now, that is exactly what they have done. And that's what you see in California.

I just want to say something personally to the people of California. I'm going to have an opportunity to say it out there. I've been to California about a dozen times since I've been President. Would have been once more if it hadn't been for the events in Haiti that kept me away from going out there for Kathleen a few days ago. I love the place. It's a fascinating place. And everything that America has everywhere is also there.

They have had two huge problems. One is, since they're the biggest State in the country economically, when we had a recession, they got hit harder with it. The second is that with about 12 percent of our population, they had 21 percent of our defense investments. So that when we cut defense in this country at the end of the cold war, starting back in '87—that's when defense peaked—it was absolutely predictable that it would have double the impact in California that it would have anywhere else because of the concentration and that the impact might be highly weighted in high-wage jobs. Therefore, turning it around takes a little more time because the hit was bigger there.

And so I went all over California in that election trying to figure out what was going on in southern California, what was going on in northern California, what was going on for the farmers, what was going on in the inland empire, what was going on in San Diego—how were the border problems, the immigration problems going to be aggravated and exacerbated and people's sense of insecurity going to be reinforced by all these terrible economic problems.

If you had 150 different racial and ethnic groups in Los Angeles County, that meant that it could be the beacon of the whole future for the United States, but how are they

going to get through all the tensions that would be caused by the economic contraction of the moment until we could turn it around.

I have really given a lot of thought to this. And when we put together an economic strategy, it was pretty simple. It was: reduce the deficit; increase investment in education, training, and new technologies; expand trade and investment; and try to empower individuals and communities to succeed, which means that the places that are in the worse shape need some extra help.

How did that play itself out in California? Well, we removed restrictions on \$35 billion worth of high-tech exports where California has a decided interest greater than any other State in the country. We spent hundreds of millions of dollars, as Kathleen said, on defense conversions, helping to turn bases over to local communities so they could get businesses in there to put people to work and actually investing with companies in new technologies of the future. I visited the Rockwell plant out there, and you were there, too, the day we went there to talk about that.

When the earthquake came, when the fires came, we were there with emergency aid in a hurry. We rebuilt the world's busiest highway quicker than anybody thought we could by literally reinventing, to use the Vice President's term, the way we spend the money out there.

In spite of all this talk about immigration, it was our administration that for the first time recommended and got through Congress Federal assistance to pay for the criminal justice costs of illegal immigrants. We increased by 30 percent—by 30 percent—the amount of aid in a tough time. We were reducing spending overall. We increased by 30 percent the amount of money going to California to deal with their costs of immigration, 30 percent over what happened when the previous President was here and the present Governor was a Member of the United States Senate. That's what we did. That's our record on that issue.

We have done a number of other things. We are backing Senator Feinstein's desert bill. Last weekend we turned the Presidio over to you so you folks can do something great with it. We are doubling the border

guards for enforcement on the border. We have worked hard for California. We're selling California rice to Japan for the first time in history.

I met a walnut farmer last month from California, said "It just kills my farmer friends because they're all Republicans, but they have to admit that you have done more for us than any President in the last 30 years." And we are working for California.

Now, I say that to make this point—and why it's so important that you're here—all that can still be washed away by the deliberate, concerted effort of our opponents to place blame over responsibility, division over unity, fear over hope, can wipe away all the details and all the facts. And what you have to do to help Kathleen Brown win is to contribute now and then talk and work between now and the election, to prove that what really counts is what will build that State.

I'm really proud of the fact that in 20 months we have made a good start on bringing this country back. But don't kid yourself, it's just a good start. I'm proud of the fact that we have 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman; we're going to the smallest Federal Government since John Kennedy was President—the Republicans bad-mouth the Government, but we shrunk it with no help from them; that there are 4.3 million new jobs in this economy; and that for the first time in 9 years the United States was rated a couple of weeks ago by the panel of international economists as the most productive country in the world, and I am proud of that. But it is just a beginning.

You look at what is happening in California, and you will see the combined impact of 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economic problems, 12 years of neglect and a disproportionate impact of the defense cut-back. The people out there cannot be blamed if they are still frustrated and full of anxiety. That is not their fault. It is our job to tell the people of California that Kathleen Brown and Dianne Feinstein are builders, people who are trying to make things better and that they should not be diverted from the urgent task of building the country and building the State.

If I might just say a word about crime, Kathleen's already said that a picture of Kathleen Brown and Jerry Brown and Rose Bird is not worth near as much as the assault weapons ban, 100,000 police, 100,000 jail cells for criminals, thousands and thousands of prevention programs, and a tougher approach to crime.

And I'll tell you something else, I know something about this. I started out as attorney general of my State. I have a different position than she does on capital punishment, but our crime bill had 60 different specific statutes on that. She supported our crime bill, and he didn't. Who are we kidding with these ads about who's weak on crime or not. She had the record when we needed it.

So I say to you, you have to make up your mind. You can cheer tonight, but tomorrow, all those ads will still be out there on television, and everybody will be writing about this as if it's a horse race instead of a fight for the spirit and the soul of that State and what happens to the future of little children. And you have to decide whether you feel some sort of personal responsibility to affect the outcome.

I'm telling you, it is a wonderful place. It has enormous potential. This country will never fully recover until California recovers. And we have work to do. And the people out there cannot be blamed for voting on what they know. That's the way all the rest of us are, too. We can only act on what we know. We can only see the world through the prism of our own experience. And while all of us have been up here working for them, the other guys have been out there talking about us.

So now when the Congress goes home, the election should be our friend because we can go tell the truth. What you have to do is make a personal commitment to do that. The economic plan that Kathleen Brown has outlined will help to do what only the State can do to rebuild California. The Federal Government and a partnership that we are building between the private sector and the Federal Government cannot do it alone. There must be State initiatives. There will always be in California things that can only be done by

people who know the problems the best, who understand the opportunities most clearly.

The economic strategy that I have outlined cannot fully succeed anywhere without aggressive leadership at the State level to rebuild the economy. And believe me, we can continue to make progress on education and training; we can continue to build this economy; we can drive down the crime rate; we can make progress on immigration. But to do it, it's going to require a tough, disciplined, concerted, long-term partnership between the White House and Washington and the people who live and work in California, starting in the State house in Sacramento. That's what this election is about.

So the country has a big interest in who wins here. Not the political system, not the political pundits, but the welfare of the average man and woman and child all across America. You just heard her case for why she should win. Let us exalt hope over fear. Let us exalt unity over division. Let us prove that responsibility still beats blame in commonsense America by making sure that no voter goes to the polls in California unaware of the real facts.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:45 p.m. at the Sheraton Carlton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Evan Bayh of Indiana and Rose Bird, former justice, California Supreme Court. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Victory Rally for Senator Chuck Robb in McLean, Virginia

October 3, 1994

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. You have already answered one of my questions—[laughter]—and that is whether you were going to take this laying down or whether you were going to stand up and fight for the future of your State.

I am so delighted to be here with all of you, and I'm glad to see Lieutenant Governor Beyer here tonight and all of the other local officials. Toddy, you did a terrific job introducing us, and you ought to be better known than we are. Thank you. And I'm glad to be

here with my good friend Senator Robb and with my good friend Lynda and their children. You know, we have been friends a long time. And we have seen a lot of things happen in this country. And Chuck Robb and I, during most of the eighties, were Governors. You heard Toddy talking about what he did for education here, how hard he worked to build Virginia's economy.

I want to say two things about our common experience because it really will craft what the differences are in this race. And whether you can get this across to the other voters in Virginia will determine what they do. The first thing was that all during the eighties, we thought, Chuck and I and a number of others, that the Democratic Party had to change, that we had to be identified with mainstream issues, that we had to reach out to a broad base of supporters, that we could never give up our devotion to the rights of individual citizens, to the obligation to fight for equal opportunity, but that we also had to be prudent in spending for economic growth, tough on crime, and facing the relevant problems of the country. That's how we got into the whole Democratic Leadership Mainstream Forum group, to try to move this country forward beyond left and right and beyond all the partisanship that had paralyzed Washington, DC, for too many years.

But the other thing that both of us had to do, even to make a career in public life, was to fight against what has been the brilliant strength of the Republicans, particularly the Republicans on the right, for many years now, and that is that they are better talkers than we are and—and listen to me now—and they raise more money than we do to turn their opponents into aliens. Right? [Laughter] How do they do that? They do that by exalting fear over hope, by exalting blame over responsibility, by exalting division over unity. That is what they do. And they are brilliant at it. They sort of try to turn you into a space alien. I tell people—and they are devoted to it. And they are brilliant at saying one thing and doing another.

So Chuck Robb and I, for most of our lives, tried to change two things: We wanted to change the Democratic Party from a left-right debate to a forward-backward debate,

to broaden our base and move forward; and we wanted to break the stranglehold that the national Republican Party had on ordinary Americans because they were not acting in their interest; they just told them what they wanted to hear and demonized their opponents. Now, here in this election, you see it all being played out again here in Virginia and throughout the country.

Three years ago today, I announced for President. And I must say, my mother was the only person who thought I could win that day. [Laughter] The incumbent President was over 70 percent in public approval. But what I didn't like was that we had won the cold war and we were in danger of losing the peace, that the economy was going down, the country was becoming more divided. I did not want my child and the children of this country to grow up to be the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents. I saw an opportunity for this country to enjoy peace and prosperity, to build a unity out of our diversity, to move into a relationship with the rest of the world unknown in all of human history if only we had the courage, the wisdom, and the good old-fashioned common sense to line up our problems and take them on one at a time and go on into the future. That's why I ran.

And I had these grand dreams that I would come to Washington and not only be able to move the country forward but that we would launch—people like Chuck Robb and others and I would launch a new bipartisan debate where people of good faith in both parties would argue about what ideas would best take America into the future and would wind up cooperating on the important issues of the day to move the country forward, knowing that at election time, there would always be enough to argue about. [Laughter]

Well, let me tell you what has happened instead. We came here with America suffering from terrible social problems, crime, violence, drugs, family breakdown. They had been developing for 30 years, folks. We came here with America suffering from serious economic problems where many, many wage-earners were working longer and longer and longer and never getting a wage that kept up with inflation and often losing

jobs and taking lower paying jobs because of the pressures of a global economy.

And we came here after 12 years in which Presidents of the other party had talked tough about our problems but acted soft. They railed about the deficit and quadrupled the debt. They railed about the Government and put their folks in all the Government jobs they could get. They talked tough about crime, but all they did was talk. Every single issue was talk.

We've been here 20 months, folks. And now the Republicans are saying, "Well, if your problems aren't all solved it's just because the aliens have taken over Washington." [Laughter] Isn't that right? "They don't share your values. They're for big Government." You know all the things they say.

Well, look at the record. We have made a good beginning that matters to America. The next time you hear their space invaders speech—[laughter]—you ask them this: Well, how do you explain the fact that we have passed the biggest deficit reduction package in history, the largest number of spending cuts in history; and tax rates went up only on the top 1.2 percent of our people; that we made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut and reduced taxes on 15 million working families to keep them out of welfare and in the work force; that while we were cutting spending, we increased investment in education and training and new technologies and defense conversion; we expanded trade by more than any comparable period in 35 years.

And what has that produced? They said the sky would fall. You remember? The same crowd that is campaigning against Chuck Robb said the sky would fall. Well, instead, we have 4.3 million new jobs—130,000 in Virginia alone; 330,000 families in Virginia alone were eligible for income tax cuts; 600,000 people in Virginia alone, today, already eligible for lower interest college loans. We've had 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President. And we have reduced the size of the Federal Government already by more than 70,000—270,000 over 5 years. The Federal Government will be the smallest it was, that it has been since John Kennedy was

President. That is the record of this administration.

Now, that is why Chuck Robb pleads guilty to voting for that economic plan; it produced for the people of Virginia. Republicans and Democrats got those jobs. Republicans and Democrats got those tax cuts. Republicans and Democrats will get those lower interest college loans. It was good for the people of Virginia.

Chuck Robb hates deficit spending. And when I reeled off all this to him in private, he said, "It's a good start, but you've got to keep going." [Laughter] The difference is the other guys want to go back.

Let me give you the second example. We have made a good start in fighting the crime and the social problems that are gripping America: 100,000 more police on the street; 100,000 more jail cells for violent criminals; "three strikes and you're out"; the assault weapons ban, over the opposition of the NRA. And we've made a start in making Government work for ordinary Americans again.

Now, what have they done?

Audience members. Nothing!

The President. They have done—oh yes, I wish that were the answer. [Laughter] I came to Washington with all my dreams that we'd be able to work together. The first week I was here, I was told by the leader of the other party in one of the Houses of Congress—listen to this—I was told, "You're going to have to pass this economic plan without one single, solitary vote. It doesn't matter how you change it. We're not going to vote for any tax increases on the wealthy. And if it fails, we'll be able to blame you. And if it works, we'll attack it and call it a tax increase anyway," which is exactly what happened. But he said, "No point in you even talking to us. You won't get a vote." So I sort of waited 8 months; we passed it anyway. They said the sky would fall, and the economy is booming.

Then last year they voted 42 to 2 for the crime bill. Last year they voted for the assault weapons ban; they voted for prevention programs—all those things they call pork, they voted for, they sponsored a lot of them—42 to 2. Why? They did not believe the House of Representatives would pass it.

So then, when the crime bill comes back this year in the Senate—I want you to understand what you’re thinking about doing here, what the consequence of this race is—all of a sudden, all of those prevention programs they voted for, they sponsored, that on an annual basis they were spending more on in their bill than in the one we finally passed, they went from 42 to 2 for it, to 6 to 38 against it. Why? Because they were told the objective was not to lower crime but to hand a political defeat to the administration and to the Democrats. That’s why.

Let me give you another example. On health care, when I introduced the health care bill, I said, “Look, I don’t have a monopoly on truth. You may have a better idea.” And I was so happy. I thought, finally, we’re going to get there because 24 members of the other party, 24 Republican Senators, were on a bill that would have provided coverage for everybody and would have controlled costs. So, anyway, so they had 24 Republicans on this bill. So I said, “Great, we’re going to get health care.” That’s right. I said, “We’re going to get health care.” And I thought, they’ll have ideas; we’ll have ideas; we’ll get together and we’ll work out a deal. We’ll have health care—24. By the time the bill got to the committee process, do you know how many of those 24 were left? Zero. Why? Why? Why? Because—because—don’t take my word, take their word. Republican Congressman says, in print, “We were ordered not to cooperate on health care.” Republican Senator says, in print, “We have killed it. Now the trick is to keep our fingerprints off of it”—in print; Republican idea person says, in print—passed it out, proud of it—to the Republicans, “The one thing you must not do is pass any health care reform. It will help the Democrats too much.”

Now that is what we are facing. That is the national context in which you must see this election. But far more important than that is they have now told us what they will do. They have put their contract out. And what is it? Trickle-down economics; eighties promises; a trillion dollars worth of unfunded promises, \$1 trillion.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I’ll tell you what that contract is. It’s a contract on America’s future.

It’s a contract on our deficit reduction. It’s a contract on Medicare. It’s a contract on paying for the crime bill. It will take us right back down the road that we were on before if you do not change the direction of the country. So I say to you, let’s don’t quit. We have made a good start in 20 months on 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economics problems, and 12 years of neglect.

I want to say something else. If you say, “I want the same thing from Chuck Robb today that I did when I voted for him for Governor: I want a mainstream, progressive, bipartisan, commonsense effort to move this country forward”; if you say, “I am sick and tired of this demonization; I am sick and tired of this distortion of a good man’s record and a good man’s life and a good person’s public service”; if you say, “I will not reward people who talk tough, just tell me what I want to hear, pander to my every whim, and act weak when they have power; I will instead reward people who make tough decisions and think about my children’s future, and Chuck Robb has done that every day he was in public office from the first day I elected him”; if you say, “We don’t want to demonize our opponents either, but we have values, too, and we can read the rules, too, and we know that one of the rules that sometimes the other side forgets to mention in their litany of values is thou shalt not bear false witness”—let me tell you something, the people of this State are good people. They are good people, regardless of their party or their background or their experience. They can only vote in this election based on what they know, what they see, what they feel.

Now, let me end where I began. We’ve made a good start in 20 months on 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economic problems, 12 years of neglect. But most people have not felt it yet. And while we have been working, they have been talking, blaming, dividing, turning us into aliens.

You—you can decide whether we go forward or backward. We’ve moved the economy; we’ve taken a serious step on crime; we’ve begun to make Government work for ordinary people again. They have put out their contract on America. They want more of trickle-down economics, more of inequality, more of division. You can decide.

But the voters who are not here at this rally tonight can only vote based on what they know. There is a mountain of money raining down on the them at home tonight while you're here with us, coming through the television screen, playing on people's paranoia, their disillusionment over the years, their frustration, their cynicism. You have to break through it. And you can do it.

But paying to come to this rally is not enough. You've got to talk at work. You've got to talk on the weekends. You've got to talk to your friends. You've got to talk. You've got to work. You've got to walk. Do not take this lying down. Do not take this lying down.

This is your State. It is your country. It is your children's future. Go take it back.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:53 p.m. at the McLean Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Virginia Lt. Gov. Don Beyer and Toddy Puller, member, Virginia House of Delegates, and widow of author Lewis Puller.

Remarks at a Victory Dinner for Senator Chuck Robb in Vienna, Virginia

October 3, 1994

Thank you so much for that wonderful welcome. Thank you, Senator Robb, and thank you, Lynda, for the years of friendship and the years of service, the years of wise counsel and the years of shared joy, and all the rest of it that goes along with this work.

Congressman Moran and Congressman Scott, I'm delighted to see you here tonight. Lieutenant Governor Beyer, you gave a magnificent talk, and I thank you for what you said about your Senator and your President. I'm sure neither of us will ever forget it. Thank you, Mark Warner, for your work here. And Senator, I think one of your colleagues is here; I think Senator Daschle is here from South Dakota. Are you here? Stand up. *[Applause]* Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a special day for me and for Hillary and for our family and close friends. It was 3 years ago today that I announced my candidacy for President. I was trying today, in the midst of meeting with the Vice Premier of China and the For-

eign Minister of Israel and the Crown Prince of Jordan and dealing with a lot of our domestic issues, I was trying hard to remember exactly how I felt on October 3, 1991, in front of the Old State House in Little Rock. I know one thing: My mama was the only person there who thought I had a chance to win. And I don't think she was so sure. *[Laughter]* The incumbent President was at over 70 percent approval in all the polls, and most people thought it was a fool's errand. But I thought that the race was worth making, no matter what the outcome, because at least I would never have to explain to my child why I didn't do my part to sound the alarm about what I thought was going on in America.

It was all part, really, of what I had been working on for several years before I ran for President, part of a political heritage that I shared with people like Chuck Robb and Tom Daschle, who's from South Dakota, a place that makes Arkansas look like a metropolitan center. *[Laughter]* I say that to make this point: Several years ago Chuck and I and a number of others helped to found a group called the Democratic Leadership Council, after the Democrats just kept on getting beat in the Presidential race. We did it with two goals in mind, and both of them are important and both of them bear directly on the choices Americans face in this election and especially on the choice Americans have here in Virginia.

The first thing we wanted to do was to broaden the base and change the rhetoric and the substance of a lot of the policies of the Democratic Party. We thought we had been typecast too much as the big Government, pro-tax, Government-can-solve-all-the-problems party. We needed to broaden our base and prove that we could spend tax money with discipline, grow the economy, be tough on crime, and bring the American people together across regional and racial and party lines, and move the country forward. Instead of always having a left-right argument, in a time of transition you need to be moving ahead.

The second thing we wanted to do is equally important. We wanted to challenge people in the other party to do the same thing. We were sick and tired of seeing the

other party be rewarded in national elections primarily for their ability to talk rather than to act, primarily for their ability to turn us into aliens instead of tell the people of the country what they were for. And they are very good at that, I know.

And so we began to work on that. And to me, that's what the 1992 campaign was all about. I knew at the end of the cold war, we were in danger of squandering our opportunities, of not meeting the challenges of the 21st century, of raising the first generation of children not to do better than their parents. I also felt then, and I feel even more strongly today, that the best days of this country are still before us; this is by far the strongest country in the world; that if we can learn how to live together in harmony and take responsibility for our problems and listen to each other instead of scream at each other, we can take our challenges one by one and take this country into the next century with the greatest era of peace and prosperity and opportunity for all our people the world has ever known.

We face in this election many dilemmas. But there are two we can't do anything about except to address. The first is one to which Senator Robb alluded. We are living in a time of historic change. The cold war is over. Shimon Peres, the brilliant Foreign Minister of Israel, said to me today, he said, "It is a great challenge you face, Mr. President, in foreign policy, where the American people have to now stop thinking about the threat of immediate destruction and start thinking responsibly about just dealing with their problems, because if you don't deal with your problems, then eventually your security will be threatened again."

Similarly here at home, we have to deal with the realities of a new global economy where what we earn depends largely on what we learn; where the average 18-year-old will change jobs six times in a lifetime; and where, with all of our strengths, we still have to confront a bewildering array of problems. And whenever a country goes through a period of change, it's just like when a person goes through a period of change. I ask each of you tonight to think about that when you think about the state of the American people's mind in this election. Think about the

first day you ever went to school or the first day you went to college or the first day you showed up for your first job or the first day you started your first business or the day you got married or the day your first child was born. Those are all good things, but I'll bet you anything you were scared to death, if you were really thinking about it.

And these are good things. If you think about the other challenges you faced—were you going to get fired, were you going to go broke, what was it like in the line of fire, what was it like when you had your first crisis in your family—whenever you go through a period of great change, inside you, hope and fear are at war. It's almost as if you had a big scale inside, and every day hope and fear—hope would be one side, fear would be on the other, and every day they'd be in a little bit different balance until you actually get through the period of change and things level out.

That is where we are today. And we are at midcourse in this term the American people gave me, where we have made a terrific start on our country's problems, but a lot of people have not felt it yet. That is compounded today by the fact that the other party, being relieved of power in the Presidency, has gone back to what it does best, which is to talk instead of do, to blame instead of to assume responsibility, to divide instead of unite, to play on fear instead of hope. So they try to turn the President or the Senator from Virginia into an alien in the minds of ordinary voters and hope they can clog the information channels enough so that that will guarantee that in the scales inside us all, fear will outweigh hope on election day, and we will actually do that which we do not wish to do: We will make a choice which will undermine the very path which we wish to walk.

Now, I have to tell you, folks, we have done a lot of things in the last 20 months. It doesn't solve all the problems, but we've made a good start. We have made a good start. And I ask you to see this Senate race not just in the terms that Mr. Robb presented them but in these terms. We have had 30 years of social problems building up in this country: the breakdown of the family, the rise of crime, the rise of drugs, the rise of gangs,

the loss of opportunity in many of our inner cities and our rural areas, a whole generation of children being raised without the kind of discipline and love they needed to grow up to be productive citizens. For 30 years that has been coming.

We have had 20 years of serious economic problems where, when the economy was booming or when it was sinking, wages of hourly wage earners tended to be stagnant, and people had to change jobs more and more, and those who would work hard but didn't have high levels of skills were having to struggle just to hold on to their income. That has been developing for 20 years.

We had 12 years where we tried it their way, where they talked tough but acted soft, where they tried to pretend to be so strong—and they were very good at it—but they just really told us what we wanted to hear. They cursed the deficit and quadrupled the debt. They lambasted Government, but they didn't shrink it; they got all their friends in Government jobs as quick as they could. They talked about investment and free enterprise, but they tried to spur economic growth by massive deficit spending instead of by investment and productivity.

We have had 20 months to deal with 30 years of social problems, 20 years of economic problems, and 12 years of trickle-down. And here is what has happened in 20 months: We have made a good start on the economy; we have made a good start on crime; we have made a good start on making Government work for ordinary Americans. Our economic strategy involved bringing the deficit down, increasing investment in education and training and new technologies, expanding trade, and trying to empower individuals and communities to grow.

You tell me how it's worked. We've had more trade expansion in the last year and a half than in any comparable period in 35 years. The economic plan for which Chuck Robb has been criticized for voting had \$255 billion in spending cuts; the biggest deficit reduction package in history; a tax increase, a rate increase, yes, on the top 1.2 percent of the American people, including most of you in this room, and I thank you for staying here. *[Laughter]* But you can take some

pride in knowing that every red cent went to reduce the deficit, not for new spending.

That economic plan also made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut. It made 15 million working families, including 330,000 working families in Virginia who were working hard, raising children, and still hovering just above the poverty line, eligible for an income tax cut so that they would never have any incentive to give up work and go into welfare, and so instead we would reward their being good parents and good workers.

That's what that plan did. That plan made 20 million Americans eligible for lower interest, longer repayment on their college loan so that no young person again should ever decline to go to college because of the cost, because now if you want, you can pay back that loan over 25 years as a percentage of your income with a lower interest rate than used to be available. That's what that economic plan did, 600,000 people in Virginia alone eligible for that. That is what Chuck Robb pleads guilty to voting for.

Now, what did they say would happen if we passed our plan? They said the sky would fall. They said the economy would come to an end. All their leaders in the United States Senate said the deficit would go up, the economy would go down, things would be terrible. That is what they said. And what has happened: 4.3 million new jobs in 20 months, 93 percent of them in the private sector; 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President; the United States was rated number one of all the countries in the world in productivity by the annual vote of international economists for the first time in 9 years; and after they have cursed the Government, lo and behold, it was the Democrats that shrunk the Government. There are 70,000 fewer people working for the Federal establishment than there were on the day I was inaugurated. And under our law, there will be 270,000 fewer 4 years from now. That is our record, and it is a good start.

And 100 percent of them voted against it. That was their response. I was told the first week I came here—I came here with the philosophy I just explained; Chuck Robb, we had this philosophy. He lost his position on

a budget committee because he was for bigger deficit reduction. He wasn't some clone of the Democratic establishment; he stood up to everybody. Even when I presented this program, he said, "Well, I'll vote for it, but you ought to cut it more." That was our philosophy.

You know what I was told the first week I got here by the leader of the other party in the Senate? "Well, you'll have to pass this without a single Republican vote. In either House you won't get a vote. And it doesn't matter how you change it, because we want to be in a position to condemn you if you fail. And if you succeed, we will obscure it by just reminding people that you raised taxes. And even if you just raised them on the wealthiest Americans, we'll convince everybody you did it to everybody." That's what I was told the first week I got here. I said, what happened to all this bipartisan cooperation? What happened to this 90-day honeymoon I was promised? What happened to all these words that I kept hearing? But we did it anyway, and we made a good beginning. We made a good beginning.

Now we come to the crime bill. Everybody says it's the biggest problem in America. The crime bill puts 100,000 police on the street; builds 100,000 jail cells to hold violent criminals; has the power to remake communities with community-based—not bureaucracies—community-based programs to prevent crime from occurring in the first place, that the law enforcement community of this country demanded be in that crime bill. It did ban assault weapons. And it did pass, in spite of the brutal efforts of leaders in the other party to defeat it.

Now, here's what you may not remember. When they talked about Chuck Robb and the assault weapons ban—let me just remind you of something. Late last year this crime bill, in only a slightly different form, passed 95 to 4, and the Republicans voted for it 42 to 2 in the United States Senate. It had the assault weapons ban in it. It had prevention programs in it. The only reason it didn't cost quite as much is it was a 4½-year bill instead of a 6-year bill. But in all the years that this crime bill has in common with the bill that was passed last year, they voted for a bill that had more prevention funds per year in it than

the one they voted against. And they called it "pork"—the funds, the programs they had already voted for, the programs many of them had cosponsored. It went from 42 to 2 for, to 6 to 38 against. Why? Because they were told that the job they had to do in the Senate was no longer to lower the crime rate in America, to make the American people safer; the job they had to do was to defeat the Democratic President and the Democrats in Congress. That is not what I came to Washington to do; I came to try to help you be safer.

But we've still made a good start on crime. And we've made a good start in making Government work for ordinary people. I already mentioned we passed a bill to reduce the size of the Federal Government by 270,000 and give all the money back to local communities to fight crime. We're bringing the deficit down. We're making Government work again in all kinds of interesting ways. The Small Business Administration finally has a director in Erskine Bowles, whom I just brought into the White House, but for the last 2 years—he spent his whole life starting small businesses. So, lo and behold, he wasn't a politician over there, like what you usually have; he was a guy who was used to starting small businesses. So, now, you can go to the SBA, and if you want a loan, you can fill out a one-page form instead of one that's 100 pages long, and you get an answer in 3 days, yes or no. That's not the Government that started it.

I'm about to sign a procurement bill that will put an end to \$10 ashtrays and \$80 hammers and all that stuff you've been hearing about. You may not have heard about it because it passed quietly, but we passed a bill that will reform all the purchasing practices of the Government. The things, in other words, that people who were alienated from Government and who voted for Ross Perot wanted, we are doing.

I supported campaign finance reform. I supported lobby reform. I support the bill that's in the Senate now that would require Congress to live under the laws it imposes on the private sector. It's already passed the House; let them pass it in the Senate now. But you ask Senator Daschle or Senator Robb what happened to campaign finance

reform. People who don't want us to have a bill killed it.

Now—so, you have a choice. We made a good start on economic recovery, on crime, making Government work for ordinary people. Is there a lot to be done? You bet there is. Is the answer to go back to trickle-down economics? They now have a plan. We now know that in addition to being obstructionists, if you give them enough votes, they've got a plan. And what's the plan? The same thing they did before, tell them what they want to hear but act tough doing it, so nobody catches you being soft.

You know, the mature thing to do if you're taking responsibility for your family, your kids, your business, or your country is just to tell people what has to be done and take a deep breath and get about doing it. And it's never quite as hard or as difficult or as painful as you think it's going to be. That is what we are doing.

Now, after 3 years of deficit reduction, for the first time since '48, after robust job growth, after the weakest job growth since the Great Depression, their crowd has now given us a trillion dollars' worth of unfunded promises, which they call "a contract with America." Folks, it's a contract on America. They have put out a contract on the deficit. They have put out a contract on Medicare. They have put out a contract on ever paying for the crime bill. But they're going to promise you everything, "We're going to have a balanced budget amendment, but we're going to cut everybody's taxes. And we're going to spend more on defense; we're going to start Star Wars up again. Don't worry, we'll do it." Hey, I heard that before. They quadrupled the debt, reduced their investment in America, and nearly drove this country into the ditch. And I don't think we want to do it again.

So you've got a clear choice, and you have to decide. You have to decide: What do you believe in? And here in Virginia, you have this stark, graphic example of how really good they are at making down, up; up, down; square, round; and turning us into aliens. I will tell you, they are better than we are at this. They are. They have turned me into an alien with a lot of voters in Virginia so I can be in the ads. But that is a true ad, that I'd

rather have Robb in the Senate. I knew if they ran enough ads, they'd finally run one that was true. That's true.

But what I want to say to you is that the people of this State are good people, but they are just like the rest of the country. We're going through this period of change, and change is hard. And we all are for change in general, and then we're all against it in particular, as soon as it requires any rigor at all or when it takes time to wait for.

That's another thing that makes politics really hard today. Look at the way we communicate: these pounding messages—right?—the 30-second ads, a trauma on the news every night, the dynamics of how we get our information.

Now, Don Beyer said it the best, he said, "Everything that really counts in life takes time." Everything that you really care about in life takes time. But we're not given much time to digest here—to digest, we just have all this stuff crammed at us in a time of uncertainty and change. And the other guys are better talkers. I've been busy up here doing. And since they gave up all doing and didn't want to work with me, they had more time to talk. And mercy, they're good at it. And they've got plenty of money to do it.

So we now have a stark choice. We're clearly making progress on the economy, on crime, on making the Government work for ordinary people, clearly. We clearly have a long way to go. Is the answer to turn around and do what failed us before? That is the choice we're being given. And here, you have a little extra gloss on it. Here, it is more stark.

So I know how you feel, because you showed up and you made this contribution to Chuck Robb. But what I want to tell you is that your contribution, as much as I appreciate it, is not enough, because you cannot give \$20 million. And the voters in Virginia can only vote on what they know, just like voters everywhere. You don't want them to wake up a year from now, saying, "Oh, my goodness, what have I done?" There have to be enough who will make the right decision now.

That's what happened to Mr. Truman in '48, by the way. A lot of people have forgotten this. You know, if you took a poll today, everybody wants Harry Truman on Mount

Rushmore. But I came from one of those families who was for him when he was still alive. And I'm telling you, those of you who are old enough to remember that know that he just barely won that race and that he was a figure of positive change in a difficult time. And he fought, and enough Americans listened to him to stay the course and enable our country to be a responsible power in the world, to stand up to the cold war, to rebuild Europe and Japan, and to build the middle class in this country, because we made the right decision.

That's the decision you're being called upon to make. You cannot walk out of this fundraiser and say "I have done my part for Chuck Robb." You cannot do it.

Chuck Robb has served you well and honorably as a Lieutenant Governor, as a Governor, as a Senator. I have known him a long time. He has stood—I'm proud of what he did in the Marine Corps and in the war, and I can't believe anyone would ever question it, but I'm really proud of what he's done in public life since he's been back home, too. And you should be, too.

And I know it is easy when things are tough and you're frustrated to say, "Just throw them out if they're in. Let me see if I can't find something I don't like about them and x them off." But this is a choice. This is a choice. And I know this man. I have seen him work year-in and year-out with very high standards of discipline and integrity, standing up and taking unpopular positions. I know what he did as Governor. I know what he's done as Senator. And the idea that they could be trying to turn him into some sort of space alien who is from the far left, when he has done something that they talked about but never did—fight for lower deficits, fight for a more responsible economic policy, and fight for the future of Virginia and America—is a travesty, and you must not allow it to happen. You must not. You must not allow it to happen.

Now, I'm going to tell you something, folks—just stand right there, because I'm finishing. Don't even sit down; I'm nearly done, and it won't encourage me to go on. Just stand right there. *[Laughter]* I want you to think about this. Every one of you knows somebody else you can call. You know some-

body else you can talk to. There's somebody at work. There's somebody in your civic club. There's somebody you spend your time on the weekends with. There's somebody you meet at the school meeting. There's somebody you can talk to, somebody whose scales are going up and down between hope and fear. And you can tell them that this is about going forward, not going back. It's about assuming responsibility, not pointing the finger of blame. It's about bringing people together, not dividing them. It's about playing to our hopes, not our fears. That is what you have to do. You cannot let Chuck and Lynda and the people that work in the campaign headquarters do it all, and say, "I've paid for the television ads. I quit." That is not enough.

And I want every one of you to pledge to yourselves tonight that if you want this country to keep turning around and you want your children to reap the benefits of the 21st century and you want to do right by your country in this period of change, the way our forebears did at the end of World War II, you will send Chuck Robb back to the Senate.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. at the Sheraton Premiere. In his remarks, he referred to Mark Warner, Virginia Democratic Party chairman.

Remarks Welcoming President Nelson Mandela of South Africa *October 4, 1994*

President Mandela, members of the South African delegation, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, we are here to welcome Nelson Mandela back to the United States, but first, to the United States as the President of his nation.

Now, all over the world, there are three words which, spoken together, express the triumph of freedom, democracy, and hope for the future. They are "President Nelson Mandela." In you, sir, we see proof that the human spirit can never be crushed. For a half century, you pursued your ideals, keeping your promise never to surrender, risking all, despite danger. For 27 years, we watched you from your prison cell inspire millions of

your people with your spirit and your words. And when you emerged, instead of retribution for past wrongs, you sought peace and freedom and equality for your people.

You are living proof that the forces of justice and reconciliation can bridge any divide. Every day, you teach the world that those who build triumph over those who tear down, that those who unite can actually prevail over those who would divide. Your presence here and the growth of a new South Africa are stern rebukes to both the destroyers and the cynics of this world.

The struggle in South Africa has always had a special place in the heart of America. For after all, we fought our own most terrible war here in our own land over slavery. And our own civil rights movement has taken strength and inspiration from and given aid to your fight for liberty. Americans take great pride in the role we played in helping to overturn apartheid and in supporting the free elections which produced your Presidency.

Now we are working with you to build the new South Africa. The challenges you face, poverty, joblessness, homelessness, the despair born of long years of deprivation, are as large as they are difficult. But we know you will forge ahead, and we know that we, here in the United States, will also be better for your progress for a thriving South Africa, spurring greater prosperity throughout the region, opening new markets. That makes us more prosperous, too. And a stable and democratic South Africa, working with its neighbors to restore and maintain the peace, that makes us more secure as well. And perhaps most important of all, in this age of ethnic, religious, and racial strife the world over, you can be our partner, and together our two nations can show the world that true strength is found when we come together despite our differences.

We know and you know that diversity and progress can go hand-in-hand, indeed, that they must do so if we are to give all our people the chance to fulfill their God-given potential.

Mr. President, you have brought forth a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to equality. Today the American people welcome you here, and we salute your stunning achievement. We pledge, as you have

pledged, that we will walk every mile with you and that we will not grow weary on the way.

I say to all of you here, *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*. God bless Africa. And God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Statement on the "Federal Mandate Accountability and Reform Act of 1994"

October 4, 1994

I want to state today my continued support for efforts by Congress to restore balance to the intergovernmental partnership between the Federal Government and State, local, and tribal governments. Since my days as Governor of Arkansas, I have spoken out on the need to address the burgeoning growth of Federal unfunded mandates. As President, I have taken action to resolve this problem within the executive branch by issuing Executive Order 12875, "Enhancing the Intergovernmental Partnership."

However, more needs to be done. Therefore, I want to reiterate my endorsement of and strongly encourage the Congress to send to my desk before the session ends, the bipartisan "Federal Mandate Accountability and Reform Act of 1994." This legislation, drafted by Senator Glenn and Senator Kempthorne in close consultation with my administration, will curtail the imposition of Federal mandates on State, local, and tribal governments without adequate Federal funding and will promote informed and deliberate decisions by Congress on the appropriateness of Federal requirements in any particular instances.

Proclamation 6731—German-American Day, 1994

October 4, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In a joyous celebration at Germany's Brandenburg Gate just 3 months ago, the United

States and Germany proudly welcomed and affirmed the new era of trans-Atlantic cooperation between our nations. Together, our countries are working to support democratic and market reforms that promise greater prosperity and security for Europeans, as well as for their American friends and allies. And our citizens look forward to the future of this partnership with unprecedented optimism and confidence.

For this important covenant, history has meaningful precedent. In the first days after the signing of America's Declaration of Independence in 1776, a prominent firm in Philadelphia translated and published the Declaration's text in German. That decision reflected the significant number of German-American colonists whose involvement in our struggle for freedom helped to fashion our democratic system. The Declaration's publication in German was intended to spread the word of independence to the courageous German colonists, who shared an abiding love of liberty—if not yet a language—with their English-speaking compatriots. The leaders of the revolution recognized the integral importance of the German population, and Germans were proud to play a central role in the birth of American democracy.

Germans who already had settled in the colonies and others who came to fight in the War for Independence, such as Baron von Steuben, aided significantly in ensuring the American triumph. The translated version of the Declaration of Independence is a lasting symbol both of the depth of the American-German friendship and of Germans' extraordinary intellectual and material contributions to the birth of representative government in the United States. In the nearly 220 years since that great victory, generations of German Americans have remained active and invaluable participants in the American experiment. Today, more citizens of the United States can claim German ancestry than that of any other ethnic group. Inspired by two centuries of shared freedom, German Americans throughout the land are helping to lead our Nation toward a future as bright as our past—a future of growing understanding and certain peace.

To honor today's stewards of the rich German-American heritage, the Congress, by

Public Law 103-100, has designated October 6, 1994, as "German-American Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 6, 1994, as German-American Day, in appreciation of the countless contributions that people of German descent have made to our Nation's liberty, democracy, and prosperity.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:11 p.m., October 5, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 7.

Nomination for Chairman of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission

October 4, 1994

The President today intends to nominate Alan Dixon, former U.S. Senator of Illinois, to be Chairman of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission.

"I am pleased to nominate Alan Dixon to the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission. His record of dedicated public service, extensive background in defense matters, and tested leadership will contribute greatly to the valuable work of this Commission," the President said. "I look forward to his confirmation."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for Members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation

October 4, 1994

The President today announced his intention to appoint the final eight members to the President's Committee on Mental Retardation. The appointees are Gisselle Acevedo Franco, Tom Smith, Robert Dinerstein, Cathy Ficker Terrill, Deborah Spitalnik, Lorenzo Aguilar-Melancon, Ruth Luckasson, and Virginia Williams.

"We have now assembled a strong and dynamic group of advocates, self advocates, family members and professionals who share our common vision of moving from exclusion to inclusion, from dependence to independence, from paternalism to empowerment," the President said. "I look forward to the leadership that these dedicated appointees will provide to the committee."

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at a State Dinner for President Nelson Mandela

October 4, 1994

President Mandela, members of the South African delegation, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans. Mr. President, the American people welcome you to the White House on this, the occasion of your first state visit to the United States. You've been an inspiration to the American people. You have been a genuine inspiration to the American people and to freedom-loving people around the world, people who still marvel at the price you paid for your conviction, a conviction that our country embraces but still struggles to live up to: the conviction that all men and women are created equal and, therefore, ought to have a chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential and to have an equal say in the affairs of their land.

Your captivity symbolized the larger captivity of your nation, shackled to the chains of prejudice, bigotry, and hatred. And your release also freed your nation and all its people to reach their full potential, a quest too long and so cruelly denied.

But your story, thankfully, for all South Africans and for the rest of us as well, does not end with your freedom; it continues into what you have sought to do with your freedom. Because you've found within you the strength to reconcile, to unite, to make whole a country too long divided, you are giving real life to the magnificent words that begin the Freedom Charter you helped to draft nearly 40 years ago: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

Now, instead of focusing on the past 342 years, when South Africa did not belong to all who lived in it, you are building a future of trust and tolerance. White South Africans might have fled in fear of retribution, but instead, they have had the courage to stay and to join you in building a new future for all the people of your land. I would say to a world too often torn apart by racial and ethnic and religious strife: Watch South Africa as it comes together, and follow South Africa's example.

As an American, and as a child of the southern part of our country who grew up in a segregated environment and saw firsthand its horror and its debasement of all of us who lived in it, I must add that, as you well know, Mr. President, your presence here has special significance for Americans. We have been especially drawn to the problems and the promise of South Africa. We have struggled, and continue to struggle, with our own racial challenges. So we rejoice, especially, in what you have accomplished, and we hold it out. And as we hold it out as an example to others, so we also hold it out as an example to ourselves.

Mr. President, I know how proud you are to have your daughter, Zinzi, with you on this trip, and I am proud to have her as my dinner partner tonight. I know that during your years in captivity you were a prodigious letter writer and your daughter was one of your favorite correspondents, not least because of her own writing talent.

In one letter, written from your cell at Robben Island Prison, you counseled her as follows: "While you have every reason to be angry with the fates for the setbacks you may have suffered from time to time, you must vow to turn those misfortunes into victory. There are few misfortunes in this world you

cannot turn into personal triumph if you have the iron will and the necessary skill.”

President Mandela, you have shown us the iron will and the necessary skill. And I might add, you have done it with genuine compassion for others. We are honored by your presence here. We are honored by the promise that your leadership offers your country. We are committed to your success and proud of the partnership we have already established.

And so I ask all my fellow Americans to raise their glasses to you and to all those who have led South Africa into the bright light of freedom.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Congressional Black Caucus Luncheon for President Mandela

October 5, 1994

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. President, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House. Welcome to this occasion marking what Martin Luther King once called “a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.”

Most of you in this room, through your prayers and your actions, helped to keep freedom’s flame lit during the dark night of apartheid in South Africa. Now here we are: South Africa is free; Nelson Mandela is President. Some dreams really do come true.

We are also here because of our own ongoing struggle against racism and intolerance and division. Over the years South Africans and Americans have shared ideas and drawn strength from one another. The NAACP was founded just a few months before the African National Congress, and close bonds were forged between two of the greatest leaders our two countries have produced, Nobel Prize winners Albert Luthuli and Dr. King.

Over the years Americans raised a powerful, unified voice for justice and change in South Africa that would not go unheard. A diverse coalition spread the word: churches, universities, human rights organizations; ulti-

mately, banks, businesses, cities, and State governments. The tools they wielded, cultural and economic sanctions, divestment, international isolation, ultimately helped to force the apartheid regime to end more than four decades of repression.

At the center of this movement stood the Congressional Black Caucus. The caucus helped to raise the consciousness of all Americans to the terrible injustice of apartheid, and it consistently acted upon a deep-rooted commitment to South Africa’s freedom. Representative Ron Dellums introduced the first antiapartheid legislation in 1972, the year the CBC was founded. It took 14 more years, the unbending will of the CBC, and ultimately the willingness of Congress to override a veto. But you persevered, you prevailed. And today we can say, South Africa’s triumph is your triumph, too. And we thank you.

Now that freedom and democracy have won, they must be nurtured. And that is the ultimate purpose of President Mandela’s visit to us in the United States. Working with Congress and the private sector, our administration is helping to promote trade with and investment in South Africa, not only for the good of South Africans but in our own interests as well. The private sector, which made its weight felt in the fight against apartheid, must now lead the effort to build a prosperous South Africa. This is not, I say again, about charity. It’s about opportunity, opportunity for South Africans, opportunity for Americans.

We must also help South Africa to create jobs, housing, and schools; to improve health care; to fight illiteracy and poverty. These are challenges with which the new South Africa must contend, now and vigorously. And rising to meet them, South Africa will become a model for all of Africa.

Let me add that our concern must not end with South Africa. For all its problems, Africa is a continent of tremendous promise and progress. I reject the “Afro pessimism,” as it’s been called, that is often expressed around this city. That’s why we’ll provide some \$3 billion to Africa this year, directly and through international organizations, for economic assistance and humanitarian relief; why we’ve had the first-ever conference on

Africa recently that many of you have participated in; why we're working through sustainable development and debt relief, through peacekeeping and conflict resolution, through diplomacy and military conversion, to take advantage of the opportunities for democracy and development on the African Continent.

We owe our new partnership with South Africa to the man I have been privileged to host in Washington this week. President Mandela, by the simple justice of your cause and the powerful force of your example, you have inspired millions of Americans and millions more throughout the world.

We are in your debt not only for what you have done for South Africa but for what you have done for us, for what you have made us believe again about what we might become and what we might do here at home.

Let me close with the words of the poet Jennifer Davis, which she wrote in tribute to Albert Luthuli. They apply equally well to you, "Bounded, you gave us knowledge of freedom; silenced, you taught us how to speak."

President Mandela.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:46 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Mandela

October 5, 1994

Hello, everybody. Let me say very briefly—as you know, President Mandela and I will have statements and answer questions after we have our meeting. But I do want to say again how pleased we are to have him here. This has been both a summit meeting and a celebration for so many Americans who have so strongly supported South African democracy. And now we're in the process of working on the future, planning for the future, and seeing what we can do to be of help.

And I'm looking forward to this meeting. And as I said, we'll be glad to answer your questions after it occurs.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not

available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's News Conference With President Mandela of South Africa

October 5, 1994

President Clinton. Ladies and gentlemen, for the last 2 days, President Mandela and I, joined by the American people, have celebrated freedom and democracy in South Africa. We also have begun to assume our historic opportunity to join with the people of South Africa to ensure that their new democracy grows stronger.

Since before President Mandela's election, the United States has played an aggressive role in helping South Africa to shape its democratic future. We supported that historic balloting with \$35 million in aid. Following the elections we reaffirmed our commitment with a \$600-million trade and investment package. In the 5 months since then, we have already delivered \$220 million of that package. Americans have always invested, and will invest more, in private capital in South Africa to help that country's economy grow.

We have moved forward on a range of issues, and let me just mention a few of the new initiatives within our aid program. First, we will form a joint binational commission to promote cooperation between our nations. Vice President Gore will lead this commission, along with Deputy President Mbeki. This is important to America. Russia is the only other country with which we have such a commission. The commission will give a high-level boost to projects involving energy, education, and development.

Second, to help heal the legacies of apartheid, American loans will be used to guarantee nearly a half-billion dollars of new housing in South Africa. We will also contribute \$50 million to help bring electricity to the townships and \$30 million to support basic health care. We are taking several actions to help advance President Mandela's goal of expanding trade and investment. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation is launching its second \$75-million fund to promote investment in South Africa.

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has created, with his South African counterpart, the U.S.-South Africa Business Development Committee. It will seek to expand the \$4-billion trade which already exists between our countries. We will also promote private-sector participation in a conference the South Africans are hosting in early 1995 to support the nation's pragmatic program for reconstruction and development.

Mr. President, yesterday you asked for our geniuses to help to build your land. Today I can tell you we're going to send you some of our best. The Peace Corps will establish a presence in South Africa next year, and we are prepared to help you to develop through Peace Corps volunteers small enterprises, to train nurses and teachers, to create South Africa's own volunteer corps.

President Mandela and I also discussed other issues, ranging from educational exchange programs promoted by the USIA, to rural development and school lunch programs developed with the leadership of Secretary Espy, to cooperation in the battle against drug trafficking under the leadership of our Drug Policy Director Lee Brown, who's just returned from South Africa, to building roads and highways, to energy projects which Secretary O'Leary is working on.

President Mandela and I discussed, finally, the broader problems of southern Africa. I salute President Mandela not only for the remarkable work he has done within his own country, his leadership has also been instrumental in resolving crises in Mozambique and Lesotho. He's played a vital role in trying to solve the conflict in Angola, as well.

To help the entire region, we're establishing a \$100-million development fund for all of southern Africa. I'm happy to welcome today to the White House Ambassadors from 10 of those countries. And I'm also pleased to announce that Ambassador Andrew Young, who has long worked to improve conditions in the region, has agreed to chair this fund.

The new South Africa, with Nelson Mandela's wise leadership, has won the fight for freedom. Now it stands at the crossroads of hope. The problems it has inherited, the old and deep wounds of apartheid, are not

small ones. But President Mandela, you can be certain that the United States will continue to do everything in our power to support the new nation you and your South African people have created and now seek so strongly to build. After a half century of struggle, you've proved to people on every continent that justice and reconciliation can prevail.

In a world where too many tear down, you and the South African people have proved that there are those who build up and create. You have shown us the way, and we look forward, sir, to walking down the road with you.

President Mandela. It would be remiss of me to use this opportunity to express my gratitude and that of my delegation for the hospitality that has been extended to us during our visit to the United States. I think I missed out the word "not". [Laughter] I should have said it would be remiss of me not to use this opportunity—[laughter]—to express my gratitude and that of my delegation for the hospitality that has been extended to us during our visit to the United States.

I hope journalists will report the second version of my statement. [Laughter]

A special note of thanks should go to my good friend, Bill Clinton. The level of engagement by the United States in South Africa is largely attributable to the personal interest that Bill Clinton and his administration have in ensuring that Africa does not become a forgotten continent. The recently organized White House Conference on Africa is evidence of this. We are particularly appreciative of the sensitivity and willingness to assist that has been shown by the Clinton administration.

Powerful leaders with a common touch are in great demand in the world today. President Clinton is one of these. It goes without saying that a great deal has happened in the world, and particularly in South Africa, in the 15 months since I last had the occasion of addressing remarks to the media after meeting President Clinton here at the White House.

During that earlier meeting, President Clinton and I agreed on the importance of underpinning the political changes that occurred in South Africa with economic recon-

struction. The government of national unity has to demonstrate to our communities disadvantaged by apartheid that democracy has tangible economic as well as political benefits. We can only accomplish this by improving the material well-being of our disadvantaged communities through economic growth and the promotion of increased trade and investment.

You will no doubt have noticed that this has been a recurring theme during my visit here. In this regard, I am highly appreciative of efforts by President Clinton to encourage American trade with and investment in South Africa and for the support that has been pledged for our reconstruction and redevelopment program.

Success will not only underpin the consolidation of democracy in South Africa, but will also enable South Africa to play its role as the powerhouse of the South African region in a mutually beneficial partnership with our South African Development Community neighbors.

South Africa, and no doubt our neighbors too, welcome continued U.S. engagement in the region. The announcement that the United States Government-sponsored South Africa Enterprise Development Fund will promote small to medium sized business enterprises throughout the region is tangible evidence of this. I believe that the whole South African region, and Africa, in general, can also benefit from these efforts.

South Africa's transition to democracy has created an historic opportunity for South Africa to play its rightful role for the first time on the world stage. Resuming our place in the international arena has been a challenging experience, none more so than rejoining world and regional bodies promoting world peace, democracy, and human rights, and participating in humanitarian relief operations in Africa, the most recent being Rwanda. The United States, and indeed, all countries that participated in making the efforts in Rwanda a success are to be commended. This helped to avert a human tragedy.

We attach significance to the crucial role that the United States can play in the promotion of democracy and human rights worldwide. South Africa will undoubtedly be called upon to participate in United Nations

peacekeeping missions. We will not be found wanting within the constraints imposed by budgetary and other considerations.

In addition to humanitarian aid, another area which warrants further consideration by the South African Government is the provision of such nonmilitary assistance as is monetary. There is already a great deal of commonality in the goals and interests of South Africa and the United States, ranging from the promotion of human rights and the strengthening of democracy, to the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Coupled with active U.S. engagement in South Africa, this partnership can only grow from strength with strength.

There are many areas in which practical relations are unfolding, such as joint and structured efforts to mobilize funds for investments in and trade with South Africa, cooperation in dealing with environmental issues, increased aid to South Africa in the context of our reconstruction and development program, and lastly assistance by the United States in restructuring the judicial system in South Africa as part of broader efforts to strengthen democracy and deepen the culture of human rights.

I thank you.

President Clinton. Let me say, if I might, before the question, we would like to alternate between American and South African journalists. And so President Mandela will call on the next journalist. So those of you from South Africa, or representing South Africa media outlets, we will hear from you next. And then we'll alternate back and forth.

Haiti

Q. I believe you both share an interest in Haiti, and I'd like to ask you about that. Increasingly, American officials say that they expect General Cédras and his chief of staff to leave Haiti by October 15th. General Cédras says that he's not going to leave. Why are American officials so confident that they will leave? And will American troops make life unpleasant for them if they stay?

President Clinton. Well, let me say, first of all, I have left that question to the Haitians to resolve, as you know. The important thing for the American people is that the situation with great difficulty has remained calm over-

all, that Parliament has reopened and is considering amnesty and other things, that the mayor of Port-au-Prince, Evans Paul, has come back to his responsibilities after years of hiding, that we've turned the lights back on in Cap-Haitien and there's more electricity available in Port-au-Prince, that almost 1,500 refugees have left Guantanamo and gone back to Haiti. President Aristide now has a transition office—I remember those—in Port-au-Prince. And General Shelton and our military people there, I think, have done a superb job under difficult circumstances. They are working through that. The political questions in large measure involve what the Haitians decide themselves. I was very, very impressed with President Aristide's most recent speech, and I'm very committed to continuing on the course we're on.

That's all I know to say. I feel very good about where we're going. I think we'll wind up in a good place if we just stay steady and realize that our young men and women down there are doing a terrific job under difficult circumstances. Their work is certainly not free of danger, but you have to give them credit I think, so far, for the work they have done.

Mr. President—President Mandela, would you like to call on one of the South African journalists?

President Mandela. Yes.

Trade

Q. President Mandela, did you ask President Clinton if he would lift U.S. restrictions on trade with South Africa, in particular the denial order on the Rooivalk helicopter deal?

President Mandela. Well, we have discussed this matter both with Mr. Clinton alone and also with his delegation. The President has shown a great deal of sensitivity towards this question, and he has undertaken to do what he can to resolve this problem. I have confidence that if he has a chance to assist in this regard, he will do so.

President Clinton. Jill [Jill Dougherty, Cable News Network].

Haiti

Q. Mr. President, President Aristide reportedly is resisting signing an agreement that would define the status of U.S. troops

and what their mission is in Haiti. Is that the case, and does this create a danger that the mission could be ill-defined or spread farther than it should?

President Clinton. Well, no agreement has yet been signed. But I wouldn't let that concern you too much. We think the mission is clearly defined in terms of scope and time. We always knew there would have to be some flexibility in the early weeks until we got the police monitors in and until we began to retrain people to assume police and military roles, and that the nature of the mission would depend upon three things: to what extent the police were willing to stay at their posts and observe the rules of professional encounter; second, to what extent things beyond our control would occur; and third, how quickly we could get the training programs up and going.

So there has been—there has had to be some flexibility there. But essentially, we are on the same mission that we went there with. We're going to stay with that mission, and we're going to complete it, turn it over to the U.N., and bring our people home. And whether and exactly how we work out an understanding with President Aristide, particularly after he reassumes authority, I think will be something that will not present insurmountable obstacles. And I feel comfortable that the American people will be comfortable with the definition of the mission just as it is, and I'm not particularly worried about that.

Mr. President.

President Mandela. Can I make an appeal that in view of the interest in this question, could we deal with it if any South African journalist would like to put the question so that we can put it at rest for the purpose of this press conference.

Yes.

Q. President Mandela, President Clinton apparently asked you in the past to perhaps send South African troops to help in the police efforts in Haiti. Have you made a decision to send South African troops to Haiti? Will they be part of the peacekeeping mission?

President Mandela. Our attitude on this question is that the operation, which is essentially a United Nations operation although it

has been carried out at this stage by American troops, that operation is intended to restore democracy in that country, a worthy objective which we fully support.

Secondly, without in any way prescribing to the leadership of Haiti, we sincerely hope that they will realize the crucial importance of national reconciliation and to heal the wounds of the past by involving all the parties which may have been at cross purposes with one another.

Now, as far as our own participation is concerned, we regard this, as I say, as an operation of the United Nations of which we are a part. But we are busy discussing the matter. And we are keen to act and not unilaterally as South Africa; we are keen to act collectively as a region, especially because we have a tradition which we have to change of our country having been involved in the military destabilization of our neighboring states and economic sabotage. If we're involved in an operation anywhere in the world, we would like this to be a collective decision from our region. And therefore, we are now busy with consultations on this question—

President Clinton. Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News].

President Mandela. —and will come back to the President in due course.

President Clinton. Thank you, sir.

GATT

Q. President Clinton, while you have been meeting with President Mandela, it looks like there's been another hangup in GATT. It seems to be once again slowed down. Do you still have the confidence that you had last week when we talked to you that this will go through? And why do you think you're having so much trouble with it?

President Clinton. The people that are holding it up now are people who have always supported the GATT. Let me just say that, first of all, I won't know until sometime tonight—I think they're going to have a vote or at least consider having a vote on the rule in the House on the GATT. I've never come to the end of a full congressional session before, so for all I know this often happens.

But there's still time for Congress to act on this, for the House to act on GATT, for the Senate to act on lobby reform, on the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act, on the Superfund legislation, which has the support of everybody from the chemical companies to the Sierra Club. There is no one against it anymore. It's an important piece of legislation. I can't imagine why it shouldn't pass. So I'm hopeful that it will.

The GATT—it has always been a bipartisan issue. It's a huge job-gainer for America, just like NAFTA was, except more so over the long run. And it's the biggest world tax cut in history. It's over a \$700 billion tax cut. So I think, as we get closer to it, I would expect the people who have always supported it to support it, and there to be a majority support for it. We'll continue to push it.

Q. President Mandela, a question for you and then a question to President Clinton. First of all, we understand that you might be meeting President Aristide or deposed President Aristide tomorrow. If that is happening, how will that change South Africa's stand towards what you have just described as consultation at the moment about Haiti?

And secondly, President Clinton, when are you coming to South Africa?

Haiti

President Mandela. Well, the consultations that we are having are not going to be directly affected by my meeting with President Aristide. I do not know, of course, what he is going to raise with me, but I know what I am going to say to him. [Laughter] And so it is premature for me to answer your question fully. We will be going back to South Africa—if I don't meet you after this meeting, I'll brief you fully as to what the President will say to me. [Laughter]

President Clinton. Let me say, first of all—I'll answer the other question, but first of all, I am personally very grateful to President Mandela for making time in what has been an unbelievably busy schedule to see President Aristide. The most important thing South Africa can do for Haiti has been accomplished by President Mandela coming to the United States at this historic moment, and then on top of that, agreeing to meet with President Aristide. Why? Because here is President Mandela and here is President Mandela's delegation. And the Haitian people will see that you can bring a country

where there have been deep, even bloody divisions together and work together in a spirit of freedom, reconciliation, democracy, and mutual respect. It must be very encouraging to President Aristide; it also should be very encouraging to those who have opposed him.

So this is—I assure you that this was not planned or calibrated in terms of the action the United States took there. But as it happens, this is a very good thing for the cause of democracy in Haiti.

Secondly, the President, as you know, has invited me to South Africa very publicly and also privately. I would like very much to go. I hope I can go there. I have made no final commitments on travel outside the United States for next year, so I can't announce a commitment now, but I would like to do it very much. We're proud of our association with your country, and we hope we can do more.

Thank you very much.

President Mandela. Can I just add that I have met President Aristide twice, and I have discovered that he has a very serious weakness, which I intend to exploit to the full: He is a man who can think. He is flexible. He is broadminded. And I have no doubt that if I put a reasonable argument with him, I am unlikely to come out with empty hands. That I can say to you.

President Clinton. Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 72d news conference began at 3:43 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Statement on Signing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995

October 5, 1994

Today I have signed into law S. 2182, the "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995." This Act authorizes appropriations for Department of Defense and Department of Energy national security activities and extends and amends other programs. This Act, which authorizes most of the Administration's major defense priorities,

will provide for a continuing strong national defense during fiscal year 1995.

In signing this Act, it is important to clarify the interpretation of several provisions related to the President's authority and responsibility in the area of foreign affairs.

First, with respect to section 1404, which relates to Bosnia and Herzegovina, I note that the language on international policy leaves flexibility to calibrate our actions as events develop. Similarly, the provisions on reporting to and consulting with the Congress on training and the unilateral termination of the Bosnia arms embargo leave flexibility to determine the content of these reports and consultations and the extent to which such proposals would be implemented. This flexibility is critical for ensuring that the United States remains in a position to react to developments in the manner that best serves our Nation's interests.

Moreover, with respect to the provision on use of funds, I note that the limitation in section 1404(f)(2) applies only when appropriated funds are used "for the purpose" described therein. I sign the bill with the understanding that it therefore would not affect the United States' ability to participate in activities in the Adriatic that are needed in order to avoid impeding enforcement of sanctions against Serbia, or for other purposes, even if doing so provides indirect or incidental support or assistance for the embargo. Also, I further understand that the waiver authority in paragraph (3)(A) applies to U.S. military personnel serving in headquarters positions for NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, the Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, and subordinate headquarters staffs, such as those for the Commander, Joint Task Force Provide Promise and his subordinate headquarters staffs.

To the extent that section 1404 could be construed to require the President or other executive branch officers or employees to espouse or refrain from espousing certain substantive positions, it would be inconsistent with my constitutional authority for the conduct of foreign affairs. I will accordingly interpret the provision as not applicable to efforts that are diplomatic in nature.

In the Classified Annex, incorporated into S. 2182 by reference, section 101 directs that the Secretary of Defense provide a weekly National Operations Summary to the Committees on Armed Services of the House and Senate. Implementation of this provision must be consistent with my constitutional authority as Commander in Chief and my constitutional responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs. While I understand the interest of the two Defense oversight committees in receiving this sensitive information, there are questions of scope that need to be resolved. In this regard, I note that the joint explanatory statement of the conferees indicates their intent to provide maximum flexibility to the Department of Defense and the committees to work out the details of the content of the National Operations Summary.

I also point out that section 232, relating to modifications to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, cannot restrict the constitutional options for congressional approval of substantive modifications of treaties.

Finally, I note that section 1304 could be interpreted as specifically directing the President how to proceed in negotiations with European countries regarding cost-sharing arrangements for U.S. military installations in host nations. I support the policy underlying section 1304 to encourage these countries to increase their contributions, direct and indirect, of the nonpersonnel costs described in the provision. However, my constitutional authority over foreign affairs necessarily entails discretion over these and similar matters.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 5, 1994.

NOTE: S. 2182, approved October 5, was assigned Public Law No. 103-337.

**Statement on Senate Action on the
“Elementary and Secondary
Education Act”**

October 5, 1994

I am gratified by the broad bipartisan support in the Senate for final passage of the

“Elementary and Secondary Education Act” (ESEA). This act is good news for students, teachers, families, and communities across our country. It represents a commitment to world-class standards of academic achievements for all students and to adequate preparation for every teacher. It brings added help to the schools that need it the most and offers new flexibility to States and local communities. It reinforces our national commitment to schools that are safe and drug-free and that offer young people a disciplined environment for learning. It encourages parental involvement in the education of their children. And it puts the Federal Government squarely on the side of public school choice, innovative charter schools, and character education.

Final passage of the ESEA is the capstone of 2 years of efforts to improve the entire system of lifelong learning. In an economy in which, more and more, what we earn depends upon what we learn, these efforts are the key to our future. Head Start reform, national goals for elementary and secondary education, new bridges between schools and workplaces, national and community service that allows citizens to help their country while expanding educational opportunity, loan reform that lowers costs and allows students to repay their debts as a percentage of income over time—these reforms mean increased opportunity, a more productive economy, and a more inclusive society. Future generations will look back on this period as years of historic accomplishment that began the task of renewing our Nation by investing in our people.

**Statement on the “Federal Mandate
Relief for State and Local
Government Act of 1994”**

October 5, 1994

I want to commend Chairman John Conyers and the House Government Operations Committee for adopting today the bipartisan “Federal Mandate Relief for State and Local Government Act of 1994” (H.R. 5128). This legislation, which I strongly support, will control the growth of Federal unfunded mandates and restore balance to the intergovernmental partnership between the Federal

Government and State, local, and tribal governments. I encourage the House of Representatives to act on this legislation expeditiously.

Proclamation 6732—General Pulaski Memorial Day, 1994

October 5, 1994

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

October 11 marks the anniversary of the death of a true hero of humanity. General Casimir Pulaski fought for the cause of freedom on two continents, determined to realize the ideal of self-determination for every individual. Each year, Americans pause to honor this man, whose life and death represent a commitment to democracy that holds an invaluable lesson for all of us.

The proud history of Poland contains chapter upon chapter reflecting the virtues of courage, honor, and sacrifice. Pulaski, a loyal son of Poland, wrote a glorious page in that lengthy book. His life is a testament to humanity's inextinguishable desire for liberty and to our willingness to sacrifice all to defend, or to recapture, that sacred blessing. His death reminds us that the cost of liberty is often high. Pulaski well understood that price and was willing to pay it if only for the chance of extending to all people the noble mandates of democracy and human dignity.

As a freedom fighter in Poland, Pulaski's dedication to the pursuit of liberty led him to defend the rights of the embattled American colonists in our Nation's War of Independence. Combining his military expertise, his undying thirst for justice, and his indomitable courage, Pulaski served with extraordinary valor in the cavalry of the Continental Army. And 215 years ago, during the siege of Savannah, General Pulaski gave his life so that our country might prevail in its quest for nationhood.

Thanks to the selflessness and strength of men and women who, like General Pulaski, refused to let seemingly hopeless odds deter them in their struggle for freedom, we cele-

brate the possibilities for peace in a hopeful new era of social change. The ideals for which Pulaski fought and died are sweeping the globe. Poland itself is free, at peace, and increasingly prosperous. Thanks in no small measure to the efforts of General Pulaski's modern-day compatriots, Europe is united in liberty, and the light of democracy shines brightly around the world.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, October 11, 1994, as General Pulaski Memorial Day, and I encourage the people of the United States to commemorate this occasion with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:33 p.m., October 6, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on October 11.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Vietnam

October 5, 1994

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 522 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103-236), I hereby transmit the attached report on Sanctions on Vietnam.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Nomination for a Member of the Federal Trade Commission

October 5, 1994

The President today announced that he has nominated Christine Varney of the District of Columbia as a member of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC).

"I have thoroughly enjoyed working with Christine these past 20 months, and I am delighted to nominate her to the FTC," the President said. "Her commitment to public service and firsthand experience in the areas of trade and regulation will serve the Commission well. I look forward to her confirmation."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for United States District Court Judges

October 5, 1994

The President today nominated three individuals to serve on the U.S. District Court: Lacy H. Thornburg for the Western District of North Carolina; and David Folsom and Thadd Heartfield for the Eastern District of Texas.

"These individuals have records of achievement in public service and the legal profession," the President said. "I am confident that they will continue to distinguish themselves as members of the Federal judiciary."

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at a Reception for the Africa Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger

October 5, 1994

Thank you so very much for that warm welcome. I've had a great 2 days; I like being on Nelson Mandela's coattails.

I was sitting there listening to the Secretary of Commerce introduce me, and it got more and more and more generous. And for a moment, I was almost carried away. Then

I remembered what a sterling example that was of Clinton's third law of politics, which is, whenever possible, be introduced by someone you've appointed to high office. *[Laughter]* I am delighted to be here with President Mandela, Her Majesty Queen Noor, Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. Kakizawa, Madam President, Mr. Chester, Chief Anyaoku, and all of you. I want to say a serious word of thanks to Ron Brown not only for his introduction but for the work he has already begun to do with his counterpart in South Africa, with the U.S.-South Africa Business Development Committee, with the work he has done all across the world to promote the interest of our country. I think it is no exaggeration to say, as many business people of both parties have said to me, that he is the finest Secretary of Commerce in decades; and we appreciate him very much.

Secretary Brown and several of you whom I see here, along with the Vice President and Mrs. Gore and the First Lady, were part of the delegation that represented the United States and the President at the swearing-in of President Mandela last spring. It was a triumphant moment for him and for his country. To see someone who had sacrificed so much for so long in the fight for freedom finally wind up in the driver's seat really made all of us believe, as I said today to the Congressional Black Caucus, that some dreams really do come true.

I think it important to say, as I felt again today when President Mandela and I were at our press conference and I looked at him there with his delegation from all segments of South African society, that his victory was a victory for all South Africans, without regard to race or political party, for they were all freed of the oppression, they were all freed of the division, they were all freed of apartheid. It made slaves of them all, and now they are all free.

I'm honored to be here with you tonight because of this award you have given so deservedly to the President. Clearly as South Africans go forward, they face many, many challenges, the legacy of over three centuries of apartheid, the challenge of illiteracy, the challenge of homelessness, the challenge of joblessness, the challenge to improve the health care system. But one of the most pro-

found challenges, clearly, is the challenge of hunger. Perhaps America's greatest champion of this cause in recent history was the late Congressman Mickey Leland, who was a good friend of mine. He was once asked what a guy from Texas was doing spending so much time trying to end hunger in Africa. And he said, and I quote, "I'm as much a citizen of this world as I am of my country."

Clearly, that applies with equal force to many of you who are here tonight, explains why you're so devoted to this project and why your work is so important. Your programs have made us more aware of the persistence of starvation in all corners of the globe. Already you are helping people in more than 25 nations to help themselves to end their hunger and, as you say in your prize here, "on a sustainable basis." The United States is in your debt for your work.

Now President Mandela, having won the victory of freedom, must see that it bears fruit. And all of us must do what we can to see that he succeeds. As we work to support his efforts and the efforts of all South Africans to build a new nation, we know that dealing with hunger is an important part of their mission.

In my meetings with President Mandela this week, we outlined the steps we would take to increase our strong support for South Africa, including helping to fight the problem of hunger. We will support South Africa's plans for nutrition programs, for school lunch programs, for land reforms, for expansion of clean water and sanitation efforts, for rural development. Peace Corps volunteers will help to provide assistance with agriculture and food production projects. We know that the people of America must act on the pride and the stirrings that were awakened in us by what has occurred in South Africa. We know that we cannot confine our attention to South Africa alone, that we have for too long in this Nation ignored the vast potential as well as the solvable problems of the African Continent.

Our country has shown its concern by the actions we took in Somalia, the work we have done so recently in Rwanda, by the conference on Africa which we held at the White House recently, by all the things that we are trying to do to heighten the awareness of the

problems and promise of Africa here in the United States.

We are also committed to work on trying to avert some tragedies before they occur. Most recently, we have worked a lot on planning what we might do to avert what many predict will be a terrible crisis in the Horn of Africa. This is the sort of thing the United States ought to be doing. It will make us a better partner with the Hunger Project because we cannot approach Africa without dealing with this issue.

I have said from the beginning of my administration that our mission in the world was to promote freedom and democracy, that that would increase our own security because free people with democratic governments do not have time or the inclination to go to war with each other, to break their word, or to otherwise meddle in things that undermine human potential. They are always too busy trying to increase the human potential of those whom they represent. But it has been said that a hungry man is not a free man. So if we seek freedom and democracy, we must first also seek to meet the basic needs that God meant for all people to have met in this world, wherever they live, whatever their race, whatever their station, especially the children.

Let me say to you that I have had a marvelous time with President Mandela. We have talked about a lot of things. We have told stories. One of the things that I find that our cultures have in common is the compulsion of its politicians to tell good jokes, often on themselves. [Laughter] We've even discussed the history of boxing in the world over the last 60 years, something the President knows a good deal more about than I do, although I knew enough to keep up.

Let me close with this thought. Nelson Mandela, perhaps his most remarkable achievement was that he spent 27 years as a prisoner and came out the freest of all people.

And so I say to you, Mr. President, as we part for the last time and I go about my business and you go about yours, this morning I awoke before dawn, thinking about the meeting we would have today. And I asked God to free me of all the petty resentments, the negative thoughts, all the things that

crowd in on all of us who believe from time to time that life is not exactly as it should be and get frustrated when we cannot make it that way. Because neither I nor anyone else I have ever known has ever faced the spiritual crisis you must have faced so many times, and with each succeeding week and month and year, you reached deeper and deeper and deeper in yourself for the ultimate truth. As you have fed your spirit, let us feed the world.

Congratulations, sir, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:56 p.m. at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Queen Noor of Jordan, member, and Robert Chester, chair, board of directors, The Hunger Project; former United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, chairman, and Koji Kakizawa, member, Africa Prize international jury; Joan Holmes, president, The Hunger Project; and Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary General of the British Commonwealth.

Remarks at a Dinner for the Senator George Mitchell Scholarship Fund *October 5, 1994*

Thank you very much. Senator Cohen, Senator Dole, Senator Mitchell, my fellow Americans. I've already heard enough tonight to build the speeches for the next year on. [Laughter]

First of all, I come here in all sincerity to say that I believe if the decision were made on the merits, Bob Dole and not George Mitchell would be the baseball commissioner, because Bob Dole is much better at keeping his team out on strike. [Laughter] I also have to tell you that I really admire Bill Cohen—they call me Slick Willie. [Laughter] I mean, he's so erudite, you know, he writes all these books—stands up there and smiles at Senator Dole with that little twist of the head and says, "I'm one of those errant ones." That's right, I have gotten one vote out of him in the last 2 years. [Laughter] Bill's last book was called "Murder in the Senate." The longer I stay here the more appealing that book gets. [Laughter]

I will never forget the night George Mitchell said he just had to tell me something. I thought he was going to give me another

piece of advice, tell me how I was messing up, talk about how we were going to achieve the Elysian Fields. And then he said he wasn't going to run for reelection. It's really—it's not very pleasant to see a grown man cry anytime, especially when it's the President. [Laughter] I begged; I pleaded; I wept. I called him back in the middle of the night, and I got him up, and I thought maybe he would be in a weakened condition, you know, if I woke him up. [Laughter] I have one last idea. I will ask Ken Burns to do a special on the Senate and scrap baseball if Mitchell will stay in the Senate, and then he can be the star. [Laughter] And I called Burns about it today. And he said, "I like this. You know," he said, "when I did this baseball thing, it was a retrospective on decade after decade. But I could do one on the Senate in real time, and it would just seem like decade after decade." [Laughter]

Well, anyway, I'm about adjusted to the fact that George won't be around next year, but I want to say seriously, I don't believe that any of us would function very well in this town if we tried to do anything on our own. One of the reasons I ran for President is I thought this country was too divided. I thought we needed a greater spirit of partnership. I thought people had either excessive or too restricted notions about the Government and that we didn't work together very well.

Ironically, I was elected to President of this country without knowing the majority leader of the Senate very well. But I could never have asked for a better partner. Last year, despite all the smoke and mirrors and conflict, according to Congressional Quarterly, it was the most successful year of partnership between a President and a Congress since the end of World War II, except for 1953, President Eisenhower's first year, and 1965, President Johnson's first year after his election.

Now, that was in no small measure because of George Mitchell. And there are a lot of things that we can rejoice about, even where we disagreed with the methods. The country's deficit's gone down 2 years in a row for the first time in 20 years, and next year will make 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was here. We passed

NAFTA. We passed national service, something that I'm convinced may revolutionize America from the grassroots up. We reorganized the student loan program, and now millions of middle class young people can afford to go to college and need not shy away from it. In every State in this country and every community, there is somebody who's got a job or access to an apprenticeship program or a better student loan or a place in a Head Start program or a childhood immunization because of the labors of George Mitchell in the last year and a half alone.

I cannot tell you what it has meant to me to have the honor of working with him on a daily basis. He has this almost magical blend of ability and discipline, of pragmatism and principle, of flexibility and fight. His powers of concentration and persuasion are legion. He really does bring a sense of balance to every debate. No matter how strongly I feel something, if he thinks I'm wrong, I'm afraid to talk to him because I think there's a 90 percent chance he will convince me that I had it all wrong all along. I don't know why he's not that persuasive with Senator Dole. [Laughter]

He is truly a leader in the best sense. He has vision. He tries to get things done that he believes are right. He has the skill to do it, but because he's never lost the common touch, he's able to keep the trust and the confidence of the people who sent him here.

You know, I was watching that film, and there was a picture of George along toward the end of the film sitting at a plant in his shirtsleeves, talking to the workers. Now, every one of us who ever ran for office in any State in America has had a picture taken like that. But if you've looked at as many of those films as I have, you can tell the people who went there for the first time when they were in the shot and the people who just do it all the time and would just as soon be there as on the floor of the Senate. George Mitchell is the latter category.

I have made a joke to many of you that of all the Members of Congress, from the freshmen to the most senior, the Republicans and the Democrats, George Mitchell is the only person who never comes to the White House without some young person from his home State in tow. I honestly believe—you

know, Maine's not a very big State, and I can appreciate that. Mitchell's been here 14 years; I believe he has personally brought enough people to the White House that he could never be defeated, just because of them, their parents, their spouses, and their siblings. He couldn't lose. I don't know how he's ever had time to go to the meetings; he's always so busy making sure I don't miss my picture with a person from Maine. [Laughter] Just this week he was here, and I almost got back in the White House, and I thought, "He forgot." And I was walking to the door, and he said, "Wait a minute, wait a minute, Mr. President. Here's somebody from my home State I want you to meet." [Laughter] And it's become a joke between us now. And we're all laughing about it, but I tell you, the most important thing for all of us is to never forget who sent us here. And if you're President in this day and age and you try to do anything, you've got to be willing to be misunderstood from time to time. I often tell people, and I try to actually feel this way every day, that the important thing for us is not what the American people think of us every day but whether we think of them every day. George Mitchell has thought of the people who sent him here every day he has been here for 14 years. I have no doubt of that.

Let me just say one last thing. A lot of the things that we say around here, we say so often that they seem trite-sounding, and then we stop saying them because they lose their feeling. But you cannot be an immigrant's child in this country and become majority leader of the Senate; you cannot rise from the roots that Senator Dole came out of in Russell, Kansas; you can't be somebody like me who had the privilege—and I mean this sincerely—for a brief period in my early childhood to live in a place that didn't have any indoor plumbing, so I never got to forget what other people had to live like, and have the gifts that we have been given without knowing that our primary obligation is not to solve every problem that is before us but to leave this country well enough off that the American dream is still alive for everybody that comes after us.

And that is why this scholarship tonight is so important to me, because you could not

do anything for George Mitchell that would be more fitting. It's better than a statue. It's better than a plaque. It's better than an endowment for some other purpose, because what you are doing is giving him a chance in his name to create other George Mitchells, to give other young people a chance to live out their dreams, and to prove that the dream that made him what he is is still alive and real in this country today.

I thank you for that, because I have known very few Americans that remotely embodied the qualities of this country in their purest sense as well as George Mitchell does. And this gift you have given him does that as well.

Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome Senator Mitchell.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:13 p.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

**Remarks Aboard the U.S.S.
Eisenhower in Norfolk, Virginia**
October 6, 1994

Thank you very much, Secretary Perry, Admiral Miller, Admiral Owens, Admiral Flanagan, Admiral Murphy, Captain Gemmill, and to all of you who are here. It's a great honor for me to be here. I asked to see the person responsible for decorating the F-14 with my name and the Vice President's name there. I guess I'm going to have to take flying lessons. Thank you very much. I appreciate it. I told someone to take a picture of that, and I'm going to take it back to the Vice President when I see him this afternoon and suggest that we both take flying lessons. [Laughter] Admiral Miller said, "You understand on that plane, you would still control the eject seat." [Laughter] And I told him, "I don't believe in ejecting. I'd never bail out." But I was glad to know that.

I thank you all for your service. I'm pleased and honored to be with you today. I understand that some of you have actually chosen to come back from your leave to be a part of this ceremony, and I'm deeply grateful for yet another expression of your devotion to your country. I am proud of the job you have done, proud of the great work that all of our troops are doing in Haiti. And on behalf of the American people, the most important

message I have to you today is a simple, straightforward, heartfelt thank you.

I also want to thank, especially, Captain Gemmill and the crew of this magnificent carrier for the "I Like Ike" button. You know, you may think that's funny, since he was a Republican and I'm a Democrat, but—[laughter]—when I was born, President Truman was President. But obviously, I was an infant; I didn't have much consciousness of it. President Eisenhower was elected in the year I went to the first grade, so he was the first President I really ever knew anything about. And all of us, regardless of our party, liked Ike. I can still remember when the country was united in a way that it's not now and when political arguments were a little more civil than they tend to be now. President Eisenhower's life of service to our country and his incredible leadership throughout his military career, culminating in his leadership in World War II and of course ultimately in his election to the Presidency, was an inspiration to me and to every other young American and I know is a continuing inspiration to all of you who are privileged to serve on this great carrier and in this group.

Much has been asked of you, and you have delivered. Thanks to your efforts, the Haitian people are moving from fear to freedom. Thanks to your efforts, the democratically elected government will soon return to power. Thanks to your efforts, the world knows that the United States will stand up for human rights and against slaughter, stand up for democracy, honor our commitments, and expect those who make commitments to us to honor them as well. We gave our word, and you, the men and women of the *Eisenhower* Battle Group, kept the word of the United States. And for that, we are all in your debt.

The stories from Port-au-Prince and elsewhere in Haiti have inspired all Americans. We have seen the moving images of Haitians approaching and thanking American troops for their new-found freedom. We have seen the joy in their eyes and the hope in their faces. Operation Uphold Democracy is not over yet, and you know well that it still presents dangers to the men and women of our Armed Forces.

But look what has happened in less than 3 weeks. In less than 3 weeks, you've disarmed FRAPH, the attachés, and the other militia who terrorized thousands of Haitians. In less than 3 weeks, you took heavy weapons away from the military and made the cities and the towns more secure. In less than 3 weeks, you helped 1,900 refugees return home from Guantanamo, no longer afraid for their lives. In less than 3 weeks, you permitted Parliament once again to open its doors for business. And today, they're having a good, old-fashioned debate down there, about like what happens in Congress every day in Washington. In less than 3 weeks, you returned Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul, a man in hiding in his own country for 3 years, back to his office. In less than 3 weeks, you put state radio and television back into the hands of people who want democracy. In less than 3 weeks, you even turned the lights back on in Cap Haitien after 2 years of darkness. In less than 3 weeks, you showed the world what the men and women of the American military can do.

All of us owe these achievements to the fact that you are the best trained, best prepared, best equipped, most highly motivated fighting force in the world. Your reputation preceded you to Haiti. When the military rulers learned that you were on your way, they agreed to step down. The awesome force you represent is the steel in the sword of America's diplomacy.

The success of the mission in Haiti to date also shows how flexible our military has become. Thanks to careful planning by the U.S. Atlantic Command and the joint task force, we were able to quickly recall the massive assault force that was on its way. In its place, and within just hours of reaching agreement with Mr. Cédras and the other military leaders, we sent in troops, carried by the *Eisenhower* Battle Group, to keep the peace in Haiti.

Operation Uphold Democracy demonstrates the value of mixing our four services together and drawing on the special capabilities of each of them, what Admiral Miller calls adaptive force packaging. You prepared the first-ever infantry air assault from a carrier. Had it not been for such innovation, it would have taken many more hours,

if not days, for our troops to be on the ground there. I salute Admiral Miller and the members of his staff who developed this innovative plan, which will change our military planning and make it possible for us to do remarkable things well into the 21st century. You have laid the groundwork for a dramatic forward movement in a military planning and execution. You should be proud, and the Nation owes Admiral Miller and his staff a great deal.

Of course, even the best strategists can only make a difference if they have the resources to do the job. That's why I was pleased yesterday to sign the fiscal year '95 defense authorization bill, which was passed with strong bipartisan support including the support of Virginia's two fine Senators, Chuck Robb and John Warner, and the two able Congressmen from this area, Norm Sisisky and Bobby Scott. This bill will assure that you remain better trained, better equipped, and better prepared than any other military in the world, and I am determined that it will always be that way. [Applause] Thank you. I know that one piece of this defense bill will be especially welcome news for all of you, the \$3.6 billion we will spend on a new aircraft carrier, CVN-76. That carrier will be built right here in Norfolk by thousands of hard-working Virginians. Like the *Eisenhower*, it will give us the capability to project our power around the world, to support peacekeeping and humanitarian relief missions, and, if necessary, to fight and to win regional conflicts.

In 2 weeks, just 2 weeks, you set sail for the Adriatic, to carry on your work of protecting our country's national interests around the world. I know you will demonstrate the same skill and professionalism on this journey that you have shown in Haiti.

In a few moments, I'll have the distinct honor of presenting Navy commendation medals for meritorious service in Haiti to several of you. But I want every one of you to know that in my book, each and every one of you is a medal winner, an example of what is the very best in our country. You serve with distinction, you serve in a selfless way, you serve in a way that will help us to build a peaceful and freer and stronger world for

yourselves and your children as we move into the next century, and we are all in your debt.

Men and women of the *Ike*, you have proved your capabilities time and again. In Haiti, you brought a new day to a people who thought they would never get it. You answered the call; you did the job; your country is proud of you.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:51 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Adm. Paul D. Miller, commander in chief, U.S. Atlantic Command; Adm. William A. Owens, USN, Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Adm. William J. Flanagan, Jr., commander in chief, Atlantic Fleet; Adm. Daniel J. Murphy, Jr., commander, Cruiser Destroyer Group 8; and Capt. Mark Gemmill, commanding officer, U.S.S. *Dwight D. Eisenhower*.

Remarks at the Blue Ribbon Schools Ceremony

October 7, 1994

Thank you very much for that wonderful welcome, increasingly rare around here these days. I just wanted to hear the Vice President say those lines from "A Man For All Seasons." [Laughter] They're wonderful, aren't they?

Let me say, as you know, we're about to wind up this session of Congress today, tomorrow, sometime in our lifetime, it will end. That's why I couldn't be here earlier today. But I did want to come by and say a heartfelt congratulations to all of you.

The Vice President and the Secretary of Education have already talked about what we're trying to do here, but I would like to put in a couple of sentences what I think is very important. It's hardly ever discussed in the common discussion, at least, of what goes in Washington. But we have been quietly, but effectively, trying to create a dramatic change in the relationship of the National Government to the schools of this country and to the teachers and to what is going on in education. It is a change rooted in the experiences that Secretary Riley and Deputy Secretary Kunin and I had as Governors and the hours and hours and hours that we all spent in public schools, listening to teachers,

watching people work in the schools, listening to parents.

We have made the Federal Government both more active in education and, yet, less meddlesome in trying to support what you are trying to do. We have tried to put the National Government on record in favor of globally competitive national standards of excellence in education but also in favor of getting out of the way and letting you achieve those standards of excellence in education. And this is a substantial departure. The "Elementary and Secondary Education Act" that just passed the Congress, overcoming the perennial filibuster problem, does just that. It provides targeted funding, more directed toward the areas of real need, but also provides for an enormous amount of flexibility for the schools so that every school can be a blue ribbon school. That, in the end, ought to be our objective in America.

So we will keep trying to do our job here. It will make a real difference that no child should ever walk away from going to college because of the cost, because under this new student loan program, you can have lower interest rates and longer repayment terms, and it can be geared to your salary so that if you want to be a schoolteacher or a police officer, something where you're not going to be rich, you can still afford to pay back that student loan. That will make a difference. It will make a difference in hundreds of thousands of more kids in Head Start; that by 1996, every child in this country under the age of 2 will be immunized; that'll make it easier for the kindergarten and the first grade teachers to do their job. Those things will make a difference.

But in the end, we know what will make the difference is you, the teachers, the parents, the principals, the people at the grass-roots level. All the magic of education is still in the human interplay that is a long way from Washington, DC. So we'll keep trying to do our job, but a big part of our job is making sure that you have, to use the new Washington buzzword, the empowerment necessary to do your job. That is our commitment to you; we will keep it. And I am glad to see your smiling faces here today.

Bless you all, and thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's News Conference

October 7, 1994

The President. Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, 20 months ago I came here to make a start and to make America work for ordinary citizens again, to take on some tough issues too long ignored and to get our economic house in order. There have been some tough fights along the way, but I believe they were the right fights for our future.

We came here with an economic strategy that was comprehensive and direct: reduce the deficit, expand trade, increase investment in people and technology, and reinvent the Government to do more with less. We pursued this strategy with discipline. Now we have fresh evidence that the national economic program we put into place last year is beginning to work for America.

The Department of Labor reported today that the unemployment rate fell to 5.9 percent, a 4-year low. And the economy has created about 4.6 million jobs since I took office. More jobs in high-wage industries were created this year alone than in the previous 5 years combined. It's not enough, of course. As the census report makes clear, there are still too many Americans working for low wages, living in poverty. There are places in rural and urban America where the recovery has not yet reached.

But if you look at the changes since just a few short years ago, when we were exporting jobs and exploding the deficit, there's a great difference. We're getting our economic house in order. Jobs are being created at home. We're moving in the right direction.

This Congress, as it concludes a difficult session, showed that it could make a difference for ordinary people when it put people and progress ahead of narrow interests and partisan obstruction. It didn't always happen, so let's begin with a look at the record, what's been done, what hasn't been done, where do we go from here. Let's begin with what was accomplished.

The economic plan passed, putting our house in order. It was historic deficit reduction led by cutting over \$255 billion in spending; cuts in 300 separate Government programs; raising taxes—or tax rates—on only the top 1.2 percent; cutting taxes for 15 million working families with 50 million Americans in them, people who work full-time but still hover just at the poverty line, so that people will always be encouraged to choose work over welfare and won't have to raise their children in poverty if they do.

We've broken down trade barriers, eliminated barriers to exports, passed NAFTA. Exports to Mexico are up 19 percent, exports of cars and truck up 600 percent in the last year.

They talked for more than a decade around here about making Government smaller, but it never seemed to happen. Well, now it is. Under our legislation we are shrinking Federal positions and cutting the Federal work force by 272,000, to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration. And now, again I say, private sector jobs are going up; the deficit is going down.

For the first time in a generation, we have taken a serious assault on crime, passing the Brady bill and the crime bill with its 100,000 prison cells, its 20 percent increase in police on the beat, its ban on assault weapons, its "three strikes and you're out," and other penalty laws.

The Government is beginning to work for ordinary citizens in important ways. That's what the family leave law was about. That's what the law which will provide immunizations for all children under 2 by 1996 is about. That's what Head Start for 200,000 more kids is about. That's what the national standards of educational excellence with more local control; apprenticeships for kids who don't go to college; national service, so people can earn money for college and serve their communities; and making college loans more affordable for 20 million people who can now have lower interest rates, lower fees, longer repayment schedule; it's what the empowerment zones and the community development banks to bring free enterprise to poor communities are about.

All of this was real progress. It's only a beginning, and more could have been done.

But too many times, an idea for creating jobs, reforming Government, educating students or expanding income, fighting crime or cleaning up the environment or reforming the political system was met by someone trying to stop it, slow it, kill it, or just talk it to death.

A lot of the same people just recently signed that so-called contract with America, a commitment to taking us back to the Reagan-Bush years when we exploded the deficit, cut Medicare, cut taxes for the wealthiest in America, divided our citizens, and sent our jobs overseas. My contract with the American people is for the future: grow the economy, fight crime, take on the tough problems, make Government work for ordinary people.

Congress is leaving town without passing GATT, the world's largest trade agreement. It will cut global tariffs and, over the next decade, means a \$744 billion tax cut. It will generate hundreds of thousands of new jobs for American workers. It will keep our recovery going and sustain growth all around the world. We must not retreat on GATT. That's why I've asked Congress to return and pass it after the election, and I believe they will do that.

But Congress had a chance to do a lot of other things which it should have done but didn't do. It should have passed significant environmental legislation, much of which has the support of both American people and industry and environmental groups. It should have passed health care reform instead of watching another million Americans lose their coverage, as the new data points out happened just last year, while costs increased faster than inflation and more citizens lose the right to choose their doctor. And it certainly should have passed political reform. I think the American people were appalled by the spectacle of lobbyists hiding who they work for, what they get paid, and by Members of Congress accepting their gifts and then walking away from lobbying reform. There's something wrong when a Senator can filibuster this bill and walk off the floor of the Senate and be cheered by lobbyists. Well, the Congress is the people's Congress. The lobbyists may have been cheering in the fili-

buster last night, but the American people were not.

So Congress has done well on the economy, on crime, on tax fairness, on education and training, on trade, on loans for the middle class, on family leave, on reinventing Government. Congress has not done well on political reform, on environmental legislation, on health care, and on an unprecedented record of using the filibuster and other delaying tactics to try to keep anything from being done.

We have to now resolve to give the American people a choice as Congress leaves town and we move into the next few weeks before this election. Do they really want this contract which is a trillion dollars of unfunded promises, a contract which certainly will lead to higher deficits, cuts in Medicare, and throwing us back to the years of the eighties when we lost jobs and weakened our country? Or do we want to face up to the challenges which were not met in this Congress and use the next Congress to keep the economic growth going, to pass health care reform, to pass welfare reform, to pass political reform, to deal with these environmental issues?

You know, countries all over the world want America to succeed and want to follow our lead. We saw it just in the last few days when the elected democratic Presidents of South Africa and Russia were here working with us on their common futures and their aspirations. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in Northern Ireland. We see it in the help we've been asked to give to the peace process in the Middle East. We see it in the enthusiastic reception our young men and women in uniform have been given by the people of Haiti who want their democracy back.

I am proud of the work America has done around the world in the cause of democracy. I am proud of what our troops have done in the last 3 weeks in Haiti. As I said, and I caution you again, their job is still difficult and dangerous, and we still have a lot of work to do. But the violence is down, the Parliament is back, the refugees are returning, the electricity is burning again, and democracy is coming back. This is the direction we ought to be taking at home as well as abroad,

fighting for the future, not going back to the past.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International.]

Administration Accomplishments

Q. Mr. President, while acknowledging your accomplishments, the Republicans are savoring a big-time victory in November. You also have had some major setbacks in legislation. And some of the pundits are counting you out in '96. How do you account for this very dark picture, political picture, and what are you going to do about it?

The President. Well, what I'm going to do is go out and make sure the American people understand what the choice is. If the American people had been told 20 months ago that we would have had a historic first year with the Congress, that we'd have 4.6 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 4 years, an unusual number of high-wage jobs coming back into the economy, a serious assault on crime, that I would have presented major reform legislation in all the areas I've mentioned, plus the welfare reform bill I sent to Congress that I expect to pass next year to end welfare as we know it, I think they would have been well pleased. And I think when they see what has been done and that we are going in the right direction and then they see the alternative, the clear alternative, partisan gridlock by the Republican congressional leadership—I know you may say, "Well, some Democrats didn't vote with you, Mr. President, on campaign finance reform and lobby reform," and you would be right. But look at the record. Most Democrats, on these filibuster votes, voted for campaign finance reform; most Republicans voted against it. Most Democrats voted for political reform; most Republicans voted against lobby reform.

So the American people have to make a choice first about what direction they want. Do they really want this Republican contract on America? Do they really want somebody to just tell them what they want to hear one more time, instead of someone who'll take over the tough problems? Do they really want someone to make a trillion dollars in promises that means higher deficits, cuts in Medicare, the crime bill won't be funded,

the economy will be back in the dumps? I don't believe they do want that. They haven't had much of a chance to see the big picture here; they just follow the daily march of events. In the end, this is a decision for the people to make in '94 and in '96.

When I showed up here, I knew that there was always a great deal of enthusiasm for change in the beginning. But the process of change is difficult, exacting; it requires discipline and confidence, and you have to stay at it. And there are always dark times. There has never been a time when the organized forces of the status quo haven't been able to drive down the popularity of a President who really fought for change. I'm not worried about that. I am not at issue here. The real issue is what is the future the American people wish for themselves. And I am looking forward to having a chance to go out and say what I think the direction should be and then let the people make their decision.

Iraq

Q. What can you tell us about the mobilization of Iraqi troops on the border with Kuwait? Do you think this is just bluster or do you think it's a real menace? And what's the United States prepared to do?

The President. Well, first let me say we are watching it very closely, and we are watching the troop movements as well as the threats that the Iraqis have made to the U.N. mission there. I spoke with General Shalikashvili just before I came over here today. We are taking the necessary steps as a precaution to deal with this issue. I don't believe I should discuss them in any greater detail, but let me say, I think they are appropriate and necessary, and we are fully in agreement on the course we are taking.

Iraq should not be able to intimidate the United Nations Security Council and the U.N. mission there. They should not be misled into thinking that they can repeat the mistakes of the past. If Iraq really is trying to say in some insistent way that what they want is relief from the U.N. sanctions, there is a clear way for them to achieve that relief, simply comply with the United Nations resolutions. If they comply with the United Nations resolutions, they can get relief from the sanc-

tions. There are clear rules, clear standards. This is not a mystery.

So we have taken this matter seriously. We have responded with necessary precautionary steps. I cannot say more than that now, and I don't want to read more into it than has actually happened. But I am confident we are doing the right thing.

Yes, Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News].

Foreign Policy

Q. Over the past 20 months, Mr. President, some people would say that you have made very strong threats against the Bosnian aggressors; that you have warned North Korea not to build even one nuclear bomb, yet now there's acknowledgement that they at least have one, if not more; there have been threats against aggressors in Haiti and compromise, leaving the option for the leaders to stay there. To what extent would you say that it is fair criticism that Saddam Hussein might be testing you because this country has not been strong enough in responding to aggression and to aggressive threats?

The President. Well, first of all, I think that if he were testing me based on the facts that you outlined, he would have a very gross misapprehension of the facts. When I ran for President and when I became President, I never said that the United States would take any unilateral action in Bosnia. And I defy you to find the time when I did say that. I said that we would work with our allies. The actions of force which have occurred in Bosnia have been largely as a result of the initiatives of the United States, the creation of the safe havens, the use of NATO air power out of its area for the first time in history have largely been the results of the constant and insistent pushing of the United States.

Secondly, with regard to Korea, I think that our actions in Korea and our policies to date have been appropriate. They have been firm; they have been deliberate. The implication of your remark was that they had a bomb-making operation going on during this administration. The evidence that has been cited in some press reports is quite different. It is that before I became President, they may have accumulated enough nuclear

material to make a nuclear device or two. That has been the press reports. I fail to see how that shows a lack of resolve on our part since we have been here. I think we have pursued this course quite firmly. We were pushing the sanctions option if there was not a return to serious negotiations. There has been, and I hope those negotiations will succeed.

In the case of Haiti, I think it is absolutely apparent to everybody that it was the literal imminence of the military invasion which is leading to a peaceful transfer of authority there. We have, after all, 19,000-plus troops in Haiti. We are proceeding with the transfer of authority. It plainly was the result largely of the credible threat of force that a diplomatic solution permitting that threat of force to be instituted into the country in a peaceful rather than a war-like manner that resulted.

So if those are the examples, I would think that Saddam Hussein would draw exactly the reverse conclusion than the one you have outlined. Secondly, I would remind you that when we had clear evidence that the Iraqis were involved in an attempt to kill former President Bush, the United States took decisive and appropriate action.

Health Care Reform

Q. Mr. President, we haven't really had a chance to hear from you since last week, Senator Mitchell declared that there just could be no resolution of the health care issue. I wonder if you could give us a sense of how you're regrouping on health care, if you are, and whether or not you now think that you made a mistake by proposing such broad changes and whether you're now willing to accept something more incremental in the next Congress.

The President. Well, I haven't had a lot of chance to think about exactly where we should go with this except to say that no sooner had Senator Mitchell issued his statement than the press reports were then full of, "Oh, my goodness, we have all these problems; 1.2 million Americans lost their health insurance last year, 1993; the cost is still going up at twice the rate of inflation; people are still losing their choice of doctors." So this problem will not go away.

I am very proud of the fact that we did get as much broad-based support as we did for comprehensive reform and that the basic elements of this reform were supported for the first time in history, I might add, by a heavy majority of medical providers, that—doctors and nurses and others—that for the first time in history we got a bill to the floor of both Houses of Congress. So what we will do after Congress goes out of session is to assess where we are and how we ought to go about this next year. But I fully intend to keep after it.

Let me just say one other thing. Let me try to put this into perspective. We worked hard on health care for a year and a half. It's the most complex issue facing the Congress but one that has to be addressed because of its human and its budgetary and economic implications not only for the Government, where it's the primary fueler of the deficit, but for the private sector as well. We worked on it for a year and a half. Since I have been here, we have broken gridlock and passed family leave after 7 years, motor voter after 5 years, the Brady bill after 7 years, the crime bill after 6 years, the banking reform bill after 7 years. Those are just five examples of how long fundamental reform took in areas that were more limited and less comprehensive. I think we can do health care—we must do health care in less time than that. But if it takes one more year, I'm not discouraged by that.

Q. Can you accept incremental reforms?

The President. I think in the end we will have to do—we will have to address this comprehensively. I think the principles I outlined have to be addressed by the country or we'll never solve the deficit or deal with the problems in the private sector. And I have not had any chance to think about how to approach the Congress with that. I will, but I—no one came forward with a convincing case that we could control costs, for example, which is imperative, without having a mechanism to cover everybody.

But there may be some other way to do it. I have always been open to any kind of new idea. I was disappointed that there weren't more bills introduced into the Congress in this last session that actually offered the promise of doing that. But I still think

we can get it next year. I hope there will be a less partisan atmosphere. I hope the needs of the American people will be put first. And I intend to come back full force trying to do that.

Yes, Peter [Peter Maer, NBC Mutual Radio].

President's Approval Ratings

Q. Mr. President, going back to the upcoming campaign, as you yourself joked, I guess, at a reception earlier today, warm welcomes are increasingly rare. How do you analyze your own low approval ratings? And what's your advice and reaction to members of your own party who are running away from the administration's very record?

The President. Well, the record is a good one. And there is ample evidence that if people know the record, they respond to it. I think what a lot of them are frustrated by the fact that the American people don't know it. All I can tell you is, you analyze it. You figure it out. Generally, there is a period of drag that sets in on Presidents at midterm. It happened to President Reagan in '82; it's happened in other cases. But also I think when people know what the choices are, they're in a better position to make those choices. I don't think they know that today.

My only concern is that the American people not go out and vote against what they're for and vote for what they're against. I think the American people wanted us to bring this deficit down. I think the American people wanted us to invest more in the education and training of the work force. I think the American people wanted us to make college more affordable for middle class people. I think the American people wanted us to pass the crime bill. I think the American people wanted us to pass campaign finance reform and lobby reform. That's what I think they wanted.

So what the American people should do is to say, "Who voted which way? What do I want for the future? Do I want to keep fighting in these directions?" and say, "Okay, Congress did some good things, and they failed to do some things they certainly should have done." Or do they want to go for this contract that the Republicans have put out on America, a trillion dollars in promises, just

like we had in the eighties, which explodes the deficits, cuts Medicare, shifts jobs overseas, and puts us back in the ditch. I don't think that that's the choice they'll make if they understand the choice before them.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, getting back to the situation in Iraq, could you tell us how many Iraqi troops are moving? How many troops are involved? Which are those troops? Are they members of the Republican Guard? How far north of Kuwait are they right now? And the second part of that question, Tariq Aziz, the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, said today that Iraq is complying with all of these U.N. sanctions. What specifically has Iraq not done that you wanted to do that would result in its being allowed to export oil?

The President. Well, I think the Iraqis are well aware of what the United States believes in terms of their sanctions compliance and to the extent to which they are working with the United Nations mission there. And I would remind you that there are other United Nations resolutions over and above the weapons inspections ones that are usually discussed. So I think that the Iraqis are quite well aware of what the United Nations expects them to do to lift the sanctions. And if they will do it, then no one will stand in their way of lifting the sanctions.

In terms of the military situation, I think I have said all it is appropriate for me to say at this moment. We know what they're doing. We have responded with necessary steps. We will watch it very closely. We will report more as events unfold.

Arkansas Air Base

Q. Sir, the Republicans are trying to blame you for the existence of a small air base in Arkansas. This base was set up by George Bush and Oliver North and the CIA to help the Iran-contras, and they brought in plane-load after plane-load of cocaine there for sale in the United States. And then they took the money and bought weapons and took them back to the Contras, all of which was illegal, as you know, under the—but tell me, did they tell you that this had to be in existence because of national security?

The President. Well, let me answer the question. No, they didn't tell me anything about it. They didn't say anything to me about it. The airport in question and all the events in question were the subject of State and Federal inquiries. It was primarily a matter for Federal jurisdiction; the State really had next to nothing to do with it. A local prosecutor did conduct an investigation based on what was within the jurisdiction of State law. The rest of it was under jurisdiction of the United States attorneys who were appointed successively by previous administrations. We had nothing, zero, to do with it. And everybody who's ever looked into it knows that.

Iraq

Q. Saddam Hussein has misread the intentions of American Presidents before. Without going any further than you care to into what may be the nature of these particular troop movements, what can you say to him today to make sure that he does not, because of your situation in Haiti, believe that you are perhaps vulnerable in the way that he thought your predecessor was vulnerable and do something that you don't want him to do?

The President. First of all, let me—I rarely do this to any of you, but I thank you for asking the question in that way because I do think President Bush's intentions were misunderstood, not because of anything President Bush did. And perhaps our position here might be misunderstood, not so much for the reasons that in your question were implied but because we do have troops in Haiti and we are otherwise occupied.

Saddam Hussein should be under no illusions. The United States is not otherwise occupied. We remain committed to the United Nations resolutions. We remain committed to the policy we followed before. The mistakes of the past should not be repeated. On the other hand, I would encourage you not to inflame this situation beyond the facts. Let us deal with this on the facts. We are monitoring what has actually happened. We are taking what we believe is factually appropriate steps, the necessary steps that any prudent administration would take under the same circumstances.

So let us watch this concern, but let us not blow it out of proportion. Let's just deal with the facts as they unfold. But it would be a grave mistake for Saddam Hussein to believe that for any reason the United States would have weakened its resolve on the same issues that involved us in that conflict just a few years ago.

The Economy

Q. Mr. President, to go back to domestic matters for a moment. You mentioned looking at the record. I want to ask you about one part of the record that does not look so good. The Census Bureau reported that through the first year of your term, through the end of 1993, median income has gone down. The rich have continued to get richer, the poor have continued to get poorer, income inequality has grown, precisely the trends that you singled out as the reasons you were opposed to what happened in the eighties. Do you believe that you can reverse these trends in the next 2 years of your term? And if you cannot, how do you think you'll be able to convince the American people that your Presidency has been a success?

The President. Well, first of all, let me—let's put this in context, and that was a fair question, I think properly asked. These trends have been developing for nearly 20 years, as you pointed out. I don't think anyone thought I could turn them around in a year or that I alone could turn them around.

And let me try to be clear about where I think responsibility lies here, because I don't think it's fair to just say that the previous administration is completely responsible for these trends. I think their policies aggravated them to some extent but, more importantly, did not address them, which I think is the most important thing.

What is happening in America that would lead incomes to go down or be stagnant among people who actually work full time? And how could it continue even in a period of economic expansion? Indeed, how could it have continued through expansions for 20 years? That is the question. The answer, it seems to me, is to be found in the following facts.

Number one, for about 30 years we have had a problem developing primarily in our

urban areas and our very rural areas where there was disinvestment of economic opportunity coupled with the breakdown of traditional family structures and community structures, so you had a lot of people growing up and living in places where the only jobs available were low-wage jobs or where there were relatively—there were too few good jobs. That's been going on for about 30 years.

Number two, compounding that, for about 20 years, American jobs overall, certainly hourly wage jobs, have been set more and more and more in the context of a global economy, so that to whatever extent a person has a job in America that can also be done by somebody somewhere else living on a much, much lower wage, that person will be under great pressure either to lose the job or to have the wage lowered or at least never to get a wage increase.

What is the answer to the problem and how might it be fixed? I think there are three answers, and we're pursuing all of them as best we can. First, increase the level of education and training of the work force and make it more permanent for a lifetime. That's why we had the apprenticeship program; that's why we have the college loan program; that's why I'm trying to pass the reemployment system legislation that I introduced this year, but I think it will pass next year. In other words, develop a system to raise the skill level of the work force and the wages will rise.

Secondly, follow policies that will change the job mix in America, that will tend to get more high-wage jobs here. That's why I believe so strongly in expanding trade. In the United States when we expand trade, it drives the wages up, up.

The third thing we have to do is to bring free enterprise to the inner cities and the isolated rural areas. That's what the empowerment zones are about; that's what those community development banks to make loans to low income people are about. Will that all change the income distribution in 2 years or 3 years? I don't know. I know we've been going in this direction for 20 years, and we can certainly change it back the other way in less than 20 years. But again I will say, we have to stay on this course. If we change course in this midterm election

and decide that instead of investing in education, expanding trade, and empowering the inner cities and poor people, we're going to explode the deficit, give another tax cut we can't pay for, and cut Medicare—and, by the way, cut all other programs, including education and training and the crime bill—we'll be going in the wrong direction.

So the voters are going to decide whether this is the right direction, and I hope that they will decide that it is.

HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros

Q. Did you know when you nominated Secretary Cisneros that he was making payments to a former mistress? If you did, did you ask any questions about them? And finally, do you think the recent controversy about them undermines his effectiveness in your Cabinet?

The President. We knew what the facts were at the time and the legal counsel or the people—excuse me—who were handling it for me reviewed it, decided that there was nothing illegal or inappropriate about what was done by Secretary Cisneros, something that was fully known by his family. And no, I don't think it undermines his effectiveness. I mean, what he did in his past he's dealt with, and he's been pretty forthright. He's been, in fact, I think painfully forthright. And I think he has been an extraordinarily gifted HUD Secretary. He has proposed initiatives heretofore unseen to house the homeless, to empower people who are stuck in these public housing projects, to sweep the projects of weapons and drugs. He is doing the job that I hired him to do for the American people. And as long as he is doing that job at a high level, I think he ought to be permitted to continue to do it.

Cuba

Q. Mr. President, the Haitians in Guantanamo at least knew that you were working hard to get them out of there. What is the hope for the Cubans in Guantanamo?

The President. I'm sorry, what was the first part of your question?

Q. The Haitians in Guantanamo, they knew that you were working hard to get them out of there. What is the hope for the Cubans in Guantanamo?

The President. Well, we're working on that, and we're talking to them about that. As you know, some of them are going to Panama; some of them will have to decide what it is they wish to do. Of course, any of them who go back to Cuba would be eligible to apply to come to the United States legally now under a much higher ceiling. And we think a substantial number of them would be in the category of people who could get in because of their family connections in the United States and the broadened definition of family connections under the new agreement, which raises the ceiling to 20,000 people we're taking in. Also, some of them are children or otherwise vulnerable, and we're looking at them to see whether there should be any special considerations for them.

Yes, Mike [Mike McKee, CONUS].

Middle Class Tax Cut

Q. Mr. President, you promised the middle class a tax cut 2 years ago during the campaign. Will you be able to keep that promise in the next 2 years?

The President. I can't give you an answer today because it depends upon how well the economy goes and what other considerations there are with the budget. And let me just give you an example of that.

In this budget, because we began with a deficit that was bigger than we expected, the middle class tax cut essentially was capped at 15 million families, comprising about 50 million Americans or only about 20 percent of our population. Would I like to do better than that? Yes, I would, but not at the expense of the economic recovery for the same middle class. So what we are looking at now in the context of the welfare reform legislation, the child support enforcement legislation, the other things we're trying to do to strengthen families is whether and to what extent we can address that issue. What are the revenue projections for the next 2 years? What are the other demands on State spending—Government spending, I mean? How much can we control the other costs? What do we absolutely have to do for defense? Because that's very important, as we've all seen in the questions you've asked me in this press conference.

So I cannot give you an answer. Do I think it should be done? I still do. I don't think—the Federal tax system is much fairer than it was when I became President because of the tax cut for the working families just above the poverty line and also because something we often forget: We made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut last year in the economic plan. Any small business with a taxable income below \$100,000 was also eligible for a tax cut.

So I think we're doing better. But the Tax Code is not where it ought to be. And middle class families, especially those with children, I think should look forward to a little more fairness, but I can't say how and how much yet.

Midterm Elections

Q. Despite the economic expansion and the record you've been citing here today, the political mood in the country remains extremely sour. Your poll ratings are very low, but you're far more popular than the people up on Capitol Hill. How can you go out to the public, as you're going to do in the next couple of weeks, and argue that given the rate of failure, the record of failure you cited today, the people up there should be re-elected and that staying the course that is underway right now is good for the country?

The President. Well, it's easy to argue that staying the course we're underway right now is good for the country because these 2 years compare so favorably with the previous several in terms of economic direction, investment in people, and making Government work for ordinary folks. That's easy to argue.

What I think is important is to take the message to the American people in terms of what's good for them and what changes they want. In other words, the election should be about them and their future and what changes they want, not necessarily about whether the parties are ideal or perfect or whatever.

We're going through a period of change. The American people are not satisfied either with the rate of change or with the certainty that it will occur. And they, like everybody else—I mean, after all, you can't—the people are of more than one mind on more than

one issue. That is, all these interest groups that everybody reviles when they want campaign finance reform or lobby reform are the same people that have the money and the organized communications ability to change the attitudes of the people out there on issue after issue after issue.

So the important thing and the message I have to say is, what is the direction you want? Do you want continued progress in the economy? Do you want a Government that takes on tough problems like crime and welfare reform and health care? Do you want a Government that does things for ordinary people, like the family leave law or making college loans more available to middle class people? Or do you want this contract, which says clearly, "Give us power, and we'll take you back to the eighties. We'll give you a trillion dollars' worth of promises. We'll promise everybody a tax cut. We'll explode the deficit. We'll cut Medicare. We'll never fund the crime bill. But we will have told you what you wanted to hear." I think the American people will vote for the future and not the past, and that's my hope and belief.

Health Care Reform

Q. Mr. President, a question about bipartisanship. Looking back on the health care reform effort, is there anything you think you could have done differently to forge a consensus? For instance, do you think it would have helped if you'd brought Republicans earlier on in the process up to the White House to negotiate the way you did at the end of the crime bill fight? And looking ahead to next year when you're going to be pushing health care reform and other issues through a more Republican Congress, is there anything that you plan to do differently to forge a coalition for governing?

The President. Well, let me say, I'm sure that there are some things I could have done differently. You know, I never dealt with Congress before last year, and I'm still learning all the time. I would point out that the Congressional Quarterly said that last year that the Congress and the President worked together more successfully than at any time since World War II, except in President Eisenhower's first year and President Johnson's

second year. So I felt that we accomplished quite a great deal.

When we were putting this health care bill together, there was a lot of consultation with Republicans. When we wanted to present a proposed bill and say, "Now, how would you like to change this?" we were told that they had their own group working on health care, and they wanted to present a bill, and then we would get together. So I said, that's fine; I understand that. Then Senator Chafee, to his everlasting credit, came up with a bill that had two dozen Republican Senators on it that would have covered all Americans and controlled costs. By the time we got down to serious negotiations, instead of two dozen Senators for universal health care and controlled costs, there were zero. They all left. I mean, Senator Chafee was still there, but everybody had abandoned his bill. We had one Republican Congressman saying they'd all been instructed not to work with us. We had one Republican Senator quoted in one of your papers saying that they had killed it, now they had to keep their fingerprints off of it.

So I am more than happy to work with them in any way I can. I do not believe we have a monopoly on wisdom. Let me give you some evidence of my good faith on being flexible about changing. I have given State after State after State waiver from Federal regulations to pursue universal coverage and health care costs control on their own. Tennessee has done some very exciting things and, by the way, gotten some very impressive results, I understand. We just approved Florida to do this. We're in the process of approving more States to move forward. I am very flexible on how we get this done. And if the American people are worried that the Federal Government has too much emphasis and they want more for the States, fine, let's talk about that. But if there's going to be a bipartisan effort, it has to be good faith on both sides.

I like working with Republicans. I proved that in the NAFTA fight, proved it in the crime bill fight. I will prove it in the health care fight. But it can't be a kind of situation where every time I move to them, they move further the other way. That's the only thing I would say.

Yes, sir, last question.

Secretary of Agriculture

Q. Mr. President, for Secretary of Agriculture, will you be looking for someone with farm experience, or will you be looking for somebody like Secretary Espy, who has heavy congressional experience?

The President. Well, the most important thing, I think, is someone who really understands how to deal with the agriculture community, understands the interests and is committed to agriculture and to farmers and to rural development. And let me say, if I might, in closing, that I also want somebody who will faithfully implement the reforms that Secretary Espy has started.

We passed a dramatic restructuring of the Department of Agriculture. We're going to take down the number of employees by at least 7,500. We have seen an Agriculture Department that has been extremely active in helping farmers deal with disasters, that has tried to help the farmers in the Middle West with their production problems, that has given an enormous amount of emphasis to rural development. So this Agriculture Department, under this Secretary of Agriculture, has established a lot of credibility with the American people who are in agriculture, including selling rice to Japan for the first time, selling apples from Washington to Japan for the first time, doing things that haven't been done for a long time for hard-working, grassroots farmers, whether they're Republicans or Democrats or independents.

And when I came here, out of a rural background, out of a farming background, that's what I desperately wanted to do for the agricultural community. And so when I pick another Agriculture Secretary, that is a standard that Mike Espy set that must be met for the next Agriculture Secretary.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 73d news conference began at 2 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

October 3

In the afternoon, the President met with Vice Premier Qian Qichen of China.

October 4

The President announced his intention to nominate J. Michael Nussman as a Commissioner (Recreational Fishing Representative) of the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas.

The President announced his intention to nominate Robert Susan, Shirley A. Jackson, and Dan Berkowitz to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The President announced his intention to appoint Ray Gwen and Robert Jones as U.S. Commissioners to the North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization.

October 5

In the morning, the President went to Capitol Hill where he attended a Senate prayer breakfast.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton attended an AmeriCorps reception in the Roosevelt Room.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations:

- Robert Allen;
- Edwin L. Artzt;
- Owen Bieber;
- Robert J. Eaton;
- George M.C. Fisher;
- Kathryn S. Fuller;
- George Harris;
- Jerry Junkins;
- Rhoda Karparkin;
- J. Bruce Llewellyn;
- Jack Valenti;
- Linda J. Wachner; and
- Andrew Young.

The President announced his intention to appoint Robert G. Valentine as a member

of the Utah Reclamation Mitigation and Conservation Commission.

The President announced the following three additional appointments to the Committee on Greenhouse Gas Emissions from Personal Motor Vehicles:

- Patrick Dougherty;
- Sonia Hamel; and
- George Giek.

The President announced his intention to appoint Kenneth L. Salazar as Chair of the Rio Grande Compact Commission.

October 6

In the morning, the President traveled to Norfolk, VA. Following his arrival, he went to the U.S. Atlantic Command Headquarters where he was given a briefing by Adm. Paul D. Miller, commander in chief of the U.S. Atlantic Command, and military officials on the situation in Haiti. He then participated in a video teleconference with military commanders in Haiti.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC. He then met with Prime Minister Chuan Likphai of Thailand in the late afternoon.

The President declared a major disaster exists in the Republic of the Marshall Islands and ordered Federal aid to supplement the Republic's recovery efforts in the area struck by high tides.

The President announced that he has nominated Robert Pitofsky as Chair of the Federal Trade Commission.

The President announced his intention to appoint Gov. William J. Sheffield as Chair and member of the Federal Salary Council.

The President announced his intention to appoint Gov. George A. Sinner as Chair and member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

1976

Administration of William J. Clinton, 1994

Submitted October 3

Frederic James Hansen,
of Oregon, to be Deputy Administrator of
the Environmental Protection Agency, vice
Robert M. Sussman, resigned.

Christine A. Varney,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Federal
Trade Commissioner for the unexpired term
of 7 years from September 26, 1989, vice
Dennis A. Yao, resigned.

Submitted October 5

David Folsom,
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the
Eastern District of Texas, vice Sam B. Hall,
Jr., deceased.

Thadd Heartfield,
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the
Eastern District of Texas, vice Robert M.
Parker, elevated.

Lacy H. Thornburg,
of North Carolina, to be U.S. District Judge
for the Western District of North Carolina,
vice Robert D. Potter, retired.

Submitted October 7

Charles T. Manatt,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member
of the Board of Directors of the Communica-
tions Satellite Corporation until the date of
the annual meeting of the Corporation in
1997, vice Rudy Boschwitz.

**Checklist
of White House Press Releases**

The following list contains releases of the Office
of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as
items nor covered by entries in the Digest of
Other White House Announcements.

Released October 3

Joint communique by President William J.
Clinton, Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan, and
Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel

White House statement on the President's
decision to lift the ban on contacts between
U.S. officials and Sinn Fein party members
in Northern Ireland and text of a letter from
National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to
Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee
Myers on the President's meeting with Vice
Premier Qian Qichen of China

Released October 4

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Sec-
retary Dee Dee Myers

Released October 5

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee
Myers on the President's discussions with
President Nelson Mandela of South Africa

Fact sheet on U.S.-South African coopera-
tion

Released October 6

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee
Myers on the President's discussions with
Prime Minister Chuan Likphai of Thailand

White House statement on the Southern Af-
rica Development Fund

Released October 7

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee
Myers on the underground nuclear test con-
ducted by China at the Lop Nur test site

Announcement of legislation signed by the
President

Statement by Assistant to the President Rob-
ert Rubin on the delay of SEC funding pas-
sage

Announcement of intention to nominate
Charles T. Manatt to the Board of Directors
of the Communications Satellite Corporation

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved September 30¹

H.R. 4539 / Public Law 103-329
Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1995

H.R. 4554 / Public Law 103-330
Agricultural, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995

H.R. 4556 / Public Law 103-331
Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995

H.R. 4602 / Public Law 103-332
Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995

H.R. 4606 / Public Law 103-333
Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1995

H.R. 4649 / Public Law 103-334
Making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes

H.R. 4650 / Public Law 103-335
Making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes

Approved October 3

H.R. 4190 / Public Law 103-336
To designate the building located at 41-42 Norre Gade in Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands, for the period of time during which it houses operations of the United States Postal Service, as the Alvaro de Lugo Post Office; and to amend title 39, United States Code, to make applicable with respect to the United States Postal Service certain exclusionary au-

¹ These acts were not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

thority relating to the treatment of reemployed annuitants under the civil service retirement laws, and for other purposes

Approved October 5

S. 2182 / Public Law 103-337
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995

Approved October 6

H.R. 1779 / Public Law 103-338
To designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 401 South Washington Street in Chillicothe, Missouri, as the "Jerry L. Litton United States Post Office Building", and to authorize travel and transportation expenses for certain Federal career appointees, and for other purposes

H.R. 2144 / Public Law 103-339
Guam Excess Lands Act

H.R. 3679 / Public Law 103-340
Junior Duck Stamp Conservation and Design Program Act of 1994

H.R. 3839 / Public Law 103-341
To designate the United States Post Office building located at 220 South 40th Avenue in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, as the "Roy M. Wheat Post Office"

H.R. 4177 / Public Law 103-342
To designate the United States Post Office building located at 1601 Highway 35 in Middletown, New Jersey, as the "Candace White Post Office"

H.R. 4191 / Public Law 103-343
To designate the United States Post Office building located at 9630 Estate Thomas in Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands, as the "Aubrey C. Ottley Post Office"

H.R. 4230 / Public Law 103-344
American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments of 1994

H.R. 4569 / Public Law 103-345
President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Extension Act of 1994

H.R. 4647 / Public Law 103-346
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the City of Imperial Beach, California,

1978

Administration of William J. Clinton, 1994

approximately 1 acre of land in the Tijuana
Slough National Wildlife Refuge

H.J. Res. 363 / Public Law 103-347

To designate October 1994 as "Crime Pre-
vention Month"

S. 716 / Public Law 103-348

Vegetable Ink Printing Act of 1994

S. 1406 / Public Law 103-349

Plant Variety Protection Act Amendments of
1994

S. 1703 / Public Law 103-350

Piscataway Park Expansion Act of 1994